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NATIONAL REVIEW

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June 4, 1963

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

THE GROWING TENSIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA

JULES MONNEROT

The Consumer: Mr. Uninfluential

WILLIAM H. PETERSON

Articles and Reviews by · · E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN
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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ We feature an important analysis—better than any other we've seen of this length—of the Sino-Soviet split. It is done by **M. Jules Monnerot**, a French West Indian economist, regular contributor to *Nation Française* and *Esprit Publique*, and author of *The Sociology of Communism*. . . . And in this issue **Philip Bushnell** rides again, expertly, if audaciously, analyzing the pre-convention maneuvering within the circles of the Republican Left. Who is Philip Bushnell? *We'll* never tell. . . . **William H. Peterson** is familiar, as professor of economics at New York University, and frequent contributor to the *Wall Street Journal*. What he wants to know is: Can the consumer survive the recent revival of interest in the consumer by the Federal Government? . . . **Myrna Bain,** of NATIONAL REVIEW's staff, writes about the kinds of discrimination practised by the clean-living labor unions against Negroes. Herself a Negro, she reports from personal observations.

➔ **Wm. Buckley** says that in a way, in a very special kind of a way, he is sorry to see Newton Minow leave town as head of the FCC. . . . **James Burnham** considers the crystallizing European view of American foreign policy under the Kennedy Administration, and the reasons why, in the light of that view, rant and rave against him though they will, they put up with, and in their heart of hearts are glad for, Charles de Gaulle.

➔ **Stanton Evans** reviews a biography of Westbrook Pegler by an editor of the fundamentalist Liberal *New York Post*, and a review of the career of Martin Dies by Martin Dies, the one a highly ideologized account of the life and work of America's premier satirist, the other an illuminating, if only a preliminary, account of the perils of fighting Communism during the late thirties. *Plus ça change*. . . . Sir **Shane Leslie** evidently feels free to refer to Sir Winston Churchill as "Winston" because they are cousins, and went to school together. Well, we aren't cousins, and didn't go to school together, but didn't want to fuss with Sir Shane's copy, which is sprightly and authoritative, on Beaverbrook's (Lord) biography of George (Lloyd).

➔ **Melchior Palyi** writes a fascinating review of a symposium on the money problem. Mr. Palyi is well known as an expert on the elusive object of that cupidity which Chaucer said was *radix omnium malorum* . . . . **Holmes Alexander,** the widely respected and eminently readable columnist, reviews a new book reaffirming the absolute necessity of maintaining the Connally Reservation on the books. . . . **Francis Russell** writes about the tuning in on WGOD, and what he heard there. . . . And **Thomas Molnar,** off soon on a round-the-world trip, discusses with authority, learning, and passion, the heretical modernism of Teilhard de Chardin. . . . We hope you like "My Son, the Pacifist." Laugh? Thought we'd die. ➔

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WORDS FOR OUR LAND TO LIVE BY

Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801

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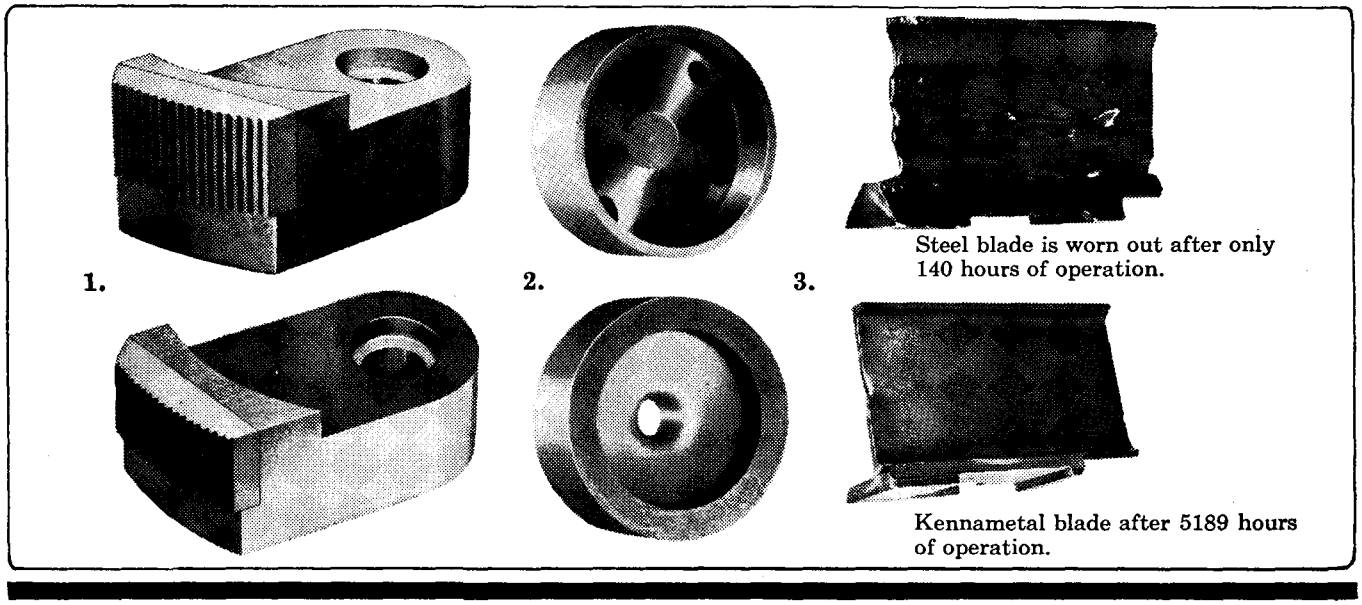

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The WEEK

● Spring is truly here. Birds are singing, students are rioting, and U Thant is asking the U.S. for more cash. Last year's silly season saw the proposal of those 2 per cent bonds that the Afro-Asian con men were able to unload on the barefoot boys in Washington. That has now been spent in riotous living, rioting and killing. The U.S. says it absolutely will not pay more than its assessed 32.02 per cent of the expenses, but hints are already being dropped that this absolute no may not be absolute, you know. A compromise will probably be reached: we won't have to pay everyone's arrears—just Russia's.

● An opinion research service called "What America Thinks" reported in November 1962 that "the general public" rated Mr. Rockefeller as first choice for the Republican nomination, by a vote of 49 per cent. Second choice, said "What America Thinks," was Romney (16 per cent). And third choice, way, way down the list, was Goldwater (9 per cent). All of that turns out to be What America (Perhaps) Thought. Because the current poll, taken by the same service, shows Goldwater to have risen from third place to occupy first place with 42 per cent, Rockefeller having sunk from 49 per cent to 35 per cent. All of which is, of course, nonsense, and we have pledged never again to believe any poll since Dr. Gallup tried to persuade us last winter of the fiction that Republicans in the South prefer Rockefeller two to one over Goldwater. But even if you throw the figures away, you are in fact left with the pollsters' ratification of what one's senses clearly confirm, that Goldwater is running very strong, and that temporarily, at any rate, Rockefeller is down.

● "When you hear a right-wing speaker is coming to town, check him immediately in the Directory and alert friendly groups. Inform your local newspaper, by personal visit if possible, of the character, background and connections of the speaker. *Preventive* action is best, of course. . . . The idea is to alert democratic groups to the possibility of trouble and meet with their representatives. . . . Action *after* a right-winger has disrupted the community is more difficult. . . . Editors and broadcasters should be visited with facts about right-wingers which they presumably do not have on hand. . . . In many cases exposure alone will turn the tide. Most people have no way of knowing who is behind the high-sounding pious names adopted by many anti-labor fronts but will accept some education on the subject." Quotes from a COPE (Committee on Political Education) memorandum to state and local union officials, dated March 1963. COPE is offering material on rightists, gathered by an organization in Washington called "Group Research, Inc.," in a handy loose-leaf binder Directory to all interested persons, sort of "Do-It-Yourself Smear Kits." Among the extremists on which it has already compiled dossiers: Admiral Arleigh Burke, former congressman Walter H. Judd, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, Wm. F. Buckley Jr., Maj. William E. Mayer.

● Getting out the voters proved to be quite a problem in the small Italian village of Locri a week ago Monday. The Communists and left-Socialists, having figured out that the vote would be extremely close, took the precaution on election eve of walling up the doors and windows of one home in which seven Christian-Democrats resided. For Gawd's sake don't anyone tell Mayor Daley!

● On May 15, President Duvalier of Haiti started to rule illegally. His first and legal six-year presidential term of office ended on that day and the Haitian constitution, which he had not bothered to amend, clearly states that a president cannot succeed himself. Several Latin American states severed relations with Haiti, the OAS went into a huddle, the United States considered what steps to take short of an open diplomatic break to force Duvalier's ouster. On May 19, the Sukarno-appointed, 600-man Congress of Indonesia voted unanimously to proclaim Sukarno president for life. The Indonesian constitution, which Sukarno had not bothered to amend, calls for presidential elections by Congress every five years (not every lifetime). No objections thus far from Washington—or anyone else.

● The U.S. has granted to Poland, these many years, much goodly favor, in the hope that Poland in her gratitude will act less like a Communist nation. Poland's big chance to show its gratitude arrived when Laos began dilapidating and the tripartite commission of which Poland is a member was called upon for sturdy action. Poland refused to act, and with that refusal perpetuated and even aggravated the turmoil that is too often capped by a Communist coup. The U.S. response has been, to date, merely the suggestion that Poland be granted a parcel of further trade concessions.

● Some old-fashioned nationalism is ahead if a bill introduced by Rep. H. Allen Smith (R., Cal.) clears the House. The bill calls for an annual Presidential proclamation of July first to seventh as "American Flag Week," an occasion for citizens to display the flag. A committee headed by Gilbert Durand of Los

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Angeles is trying to get more than a million signatures on petitions backing the bill. The committee will send petition forms to anyone writing to 6225 Fleet Street, Los Angeles 22.

● Learning all about Socialist Realism the hard way are nonconformist Soviet writers Andrei Voznesensky, who is now spending "a large part of his time" at industrial plants in the Vladimir region, northeast of Moscow; Vassily Aksyonov, who has been given a free and compulsory ticket to Siberia; and the poet Yevtushenko, who has been under wraps ever since he published an unauthorized biographical piece in *L'Express*. It is hoped, said Georgi Markov, secretary of the Moscow Writers Union, on announcing the fate of Aksyonov and Voznesensky, that "Yevtushenko will draw conclusions from his bitter mistakes."

● Current and Choice at WBAI-FM (New York). (The following are the WBAI programs listed as "Leading Events on Radio Today" by the *New York Times,* on Sunday, May 19.) "12:15 'Live and Let Live': Repeat. Eight homosexuals discuss their moral code. 4:00 'Is Nazism Alive in America?': Repeat. Documentary. 5:45 'Bombings in Los Angeles': Repeat. Meeting at Temple Sinai in Los Angeles is interrupted by report that homes of participating ministers have been bombed. 7:00 'Black Friday': Repeat. Broadcast of second day of the House Un-American Activities hearings in San Francisco."

● At Columbia University is an energetic teacher of great personal charm and scholarly devotion who, however, outraged the community by abusing academic freedom to the extent of professing conservative views. Notwithstanding his fine academic record, he was fired (*i.e.,* denied tenure)—a decision that dismayed the many students, of whatever political faith, who had studied and learned so much from him. But next fall Mr. Jeffrey Hart will teach again—at Dartmouth College; and Columbia, having weathered the assault from the Right, will return to its undistracted veneration of academic freedom.

● Want to know which are the limiting factors influencing individual and population growth in the flour beetle (*Tribolium Confusum*)? In due course the tax-supported National Science Foundation should be able to tell you. It just got a $19,300 appropriation for a look-see.

● What Khrushchev *actually said* to the abstract painters: "Pederasts! We should take down your pants and get you down in a clump of nettles until you understand your mistakes. . . . Do you want to go abroad? Go on, then; we'll take you free as far as the border. . . . But we aren't going to spend a kopeck on this dog crap. We have the right to send you out to cut trees until you've paid back the money the state has spent on you."

Warren Again

The Supreme Court's latest venture in judicial trailblazing—the sit-in cases—seems sure, by everybody's judgment, to step up the tensions, violence and flow of blood in the South and perhaps the North too. Still, say the Court's defenders, what else could the justices do, given their solemn obligation to Enforce the Constitution? Well, let's see.

The Fourteenth Amendment forbids a "state"—which means any local governmental authority—to deny any person the equal protection of the law; and that prohibition has heretofore been interpreted by the courts to encompass any "state action" that causes racial discrimination. Therefore local ordinances that *require, e.g.,* private restaurant owners to segregate are plainly unconstitutional and hence unenforceable; these are, and have been for years, dead letters, and there is not a district attorney in the country who would attempt a prosecution for violation of them. Nevertheless, the practice of segregation in restaurants has gone on because, as everyone knows, that's the way Southern restaurant owners, and a lot of Northern ones, want to do business. So what does the Supreme Court, not approving this practice, do? It suddenly wafts new life into those ancient ordinances over whose burial the Court itself long ago presided: *they,* the justices decree, are the reason the restaurant owners segregate. By such reasoning, the exercise of an undeniable private right has become a "public policy" and the right accordingly is to be denied further legal protection.

That is what happened in the Greenville and Birmingham cases. But then there was New Orleans where, regrettably for the Court's purposes, there was no segregation ordinance, not *even* a dead one, to which the practice of restaurant segregation might be attributed. The justices, save one, were undeterred. After all, had not notice been given by the authorities that the City's trespass laws—not, mind you, its nonexistent segregation laws—would be enforced? Aha, the Court announced triumphantly, that is why *New Orleans* restaurant owners segregate! So annul the trespass conditions. The Constitution must be Enforced!

A summary. 1) Private restaurant owners are perfectly free, under the law, to maintain segregated establishments; but 2) anyone who wants to trespass against those establishments or incite others to trespass, is perfectly free, under the law, to do so; and 3) in the event problems arise from the coexistence

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1) and 2), those responsible for maintaining community order must, under the law, look the other way. This is not Law but Premeditated Chaos.

The Vote in the South

is widely conjectured that the emphasis the Kenedy Administration is suddenly placing on the need enfranchise Southern Negroes stems less from a aritable concern for Negro rights than from a selfish prehension about next year's elections. If Senator oldwater is nominated by the Republican Party, e Administration is going to need all the votes it n corral, and is looking to the enfranchised Negro secure for the Democrats the plurality they need. Never mind for the moment the obvious ironies at lie in wait for a Democratic Party which will seek exhort the Southern Negro to vote simultaneously r Jack Kennedy and James Eastland. What emerges the serious problem of the universal franchise. anifestly a substantial number of Negroes in the orer parts of the South are not trained, as many their white brothers are not trained, to exercise litical responsibility. That we can say, even knowg that upon their enfranchisement they would be pulling the same lever Einstein would pull if he were living. The question in democratic theory, however, is not how defensible is the vote actually cast by the voter; but whether the voter is qualified to vote responsibly, and to assess, with a minimum understanding, the differences between the two parties.

If the South believes as strongly as many of its spokesmen claim in the conservative faith, which despises ochlocracy, the individual Southern states must act now to defy the popular mania for the universal franchise, and amend their laws and constitutions to set up objective voter qualifications tests aimed at restricting the vote to, let us say, 60 to 70 per cent of all adults. But such measures would be meaningless as conservative reform, hypocritical as social reform, and unconstitutional as legal reform if they were applied in such a fashion as to discriminate against the Negro. Undoubtedly, for the next period, more Negroes than whites would, under the plan, fail to meet the objective voter tests, and so, temporarily, fail to qualify for the franchise. But, with impartial adamance, the civil authorities should rule against those whites who failed the tests, so that it could not be said of the system that its purpose was to deprive a man of a vote on account of his color. And there are advantages to the South—and to the nation—in pioneering against the mobocracy which is threatening the stability of our society, coarsening our politics, and undermining the vision of the authors of the Federalist Papers.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

THE MINDSZENTY STORY

by Alice Leone-Moats

The Worry Wart

What if, when The Wall was built,
I blew it up? Would we be kilt?
What if, when Katanga bled,
I plumped for *them*? Would we be dead?
Who's to say we wouldn't all
Be vaporized beyond recall
If, when Sukarno asked too much,
I vetoed *him*, and not the Dutch?
What if I had hollered NO!
When Britain's airlines asked for dough?
(They won in 1812, and they
Conceivably could win today.)
I hate to be a worry wart,
But when distracted, I abort.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Blue Eagle, RIP

In the wheat referendum, never before having had the opportunity to register their wishes *en bloc,* the nation's wheat farmers told the Kennedy Administration generally and Mr. Orville Freeman specifically how asinine the subsidy and crop control program is generally and Mr. Orville Freeman specifically; and how well they said what they had to say, and how long it has needed saying!

This year small growers, who make up the larger part of all wheat farmers, for the first time were permitted to vote in the referendum, on the condition that they first sign up for the controls program. The Administration allowed them the franchise, it said, because its program, like those of previous administrations, had not worked and would not work until it could control exhaustively every bit and scrap of land used to grow wheat.

The precondition of participation in the program in return for the right to vote for or against the program put the Administration in an advantageous position to pressure farmers for a "yes" in the referendum —and it exercised its advantage to unbelievable lengths. Secretary Freeman himself engaged in the crudest threats and the most voluptuous bribes: he would, he said, dump government surplus wheat on the market to depress prices if farmers didn't come around; the issue, he said, was $2 (per bushel) wheat for "yes," $1 wheat for "no." "If anyone tells you that a 'no' vote in the referendum will mean a better wheat program passed by the Congress this year, do not believe that statement," said the honorable and impartial Orville Freeman. He sent out a legion of departmental subalterns to a) propagandize for "yes," b) hold pot-luck dinners and discussion groups led by known "yes"-symps, c) offer bribes to every individual farmer ("Dear Producer," one Department form letter went, "if 66 2/3% of the wheat growers in the United States vote 'yes' for the 1964 wheat program, you can get paid $——— for not raising any wheat on your farm"), d) pass out bales of literature and e) watch the polls on election day to insure that all known supporters got there—all this at the taxpayers' expense and in clear violation of the Hatch Act. "We are trying to bring information," Mr. Freeman sweetly told congressional inquirers. "I am not trying to tell the farmer how to vote."

No more than the wheat farmers were trying to kick the shibboleths out of Mr. Freeman by handing him, his program, and the Administration a terrific beating in the referendum; with a two-thirds vote of approval needed to put the program into effect, the farmers voted almost 60 per cent against it.

Not all the effects of this reintroduction of freedom into the wheat market are immediately predictable, but it is certain that some farmers will be hurt eco nomically or dislocated by the withdrawal of the gov ernment's narcotic subsidies. It is as certain that th benefits to all, farmer and consumer, will soon allev ate the distress.

Artful Dodging

The Stennis Subcommittee, which investigated th Cuban military buildup last fall, did a thorough an valuable job. It showed where and how Administra tion spokesmen sought to obscure the facts, pausin to note that "in order to deceive, it is not necessar to tell a falsehood." Its most important contributio is its finding that our intelligence community wa strongly influenced in its analysis of intelligence ma terial by the "philosophical judgment that it woul be contrary to Soviet policy to introduce strateg missiles into Cuba." The Subcommittee told of i own "great concern" about reports that strateg missiles and bombers "have not been removed fro Cuba but are concealed in caves and otherwise And it noted that the Administration's assurance that the Soviets have pulled out their missiles an cut down the number of troops they have statione in Cuba are based on the same kind of evidenc that led the Administration to assert, prior to Octo ber 14 of last year, that no "offensive weapons had been brought into Cuba. What these assertion are based on, said the Subcommittee, is "the negativ evidence that there is no affirmative proof to th contrary."

On the basis of the findings of the Stennis Subcom mittee, a Republican group in the House headed b Rep. James Battin (Mont.) is now agitating for change in our intelligence procedures. "A systen under which facts are not given sufficient weigh when they fail to jibe with a preconceived theor of how the Soviet Union is going to behave, unde which the limitations of aerial photography seem no to be recognized, and under which the customar military practice in evaluating intelligence is reverse imposes a dangerous myopia on intelligence agencies," says the Battin group.

"The intelligence people," according to the Stenni report, "apparently invariably adopted the most opti mistic estimate possible with respect to the informa tion available. . . . [a method of interpretation] i sharp contrast to the customary military practice o emphasizing the worst situation which might be established by the accumulation of evidence."

The Battin group believes the Stennis Subcom mittee should have gone one step further and asked: "Who was responsible for applying rules of interpreta tion on Cuban information far stricter than those normally applied by intelligence agencies? Who

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vere the Kremlinologists who concluded that the Soviet Union would never place missiles in Cuba? Whose preconceptions were taken into account in weighing the facts?"

When the government starts to deceive the public bout the real dangers in Cuba, that's bad; when it tarts to deceive itself, it could be catastrophic.

How to Fix Prices

The International Air Transport Association, with ome ninety members, most of them representing air- lines owned or subsidized by their governments, is he de facto rate-making body for international air ravel. It met in Chandler, Arizona some time ago nd decided to cut the round-trip discount on trans- tlantic runs from 10 per cent to 5 per cent.

Alan Boyd, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, told TWA and Pan American they should ppose this move, and strive to develop traffic by re- lucing, not increasing fares. Time passed, flights flew, nd pretty soon Mr. Julian Amery, Her Britannic Majesty's Minister of Aviation, announced that the CAB, by encouraging Pan Am and TWA in lèse- majesté, had come perilously close to a "breach of Anglo-American agreements." Said agreements didn't ave any clause allowing the CAB to have its say— nlike the Canadian-British bilaterals, which do al- ow Canada to steer its own course, which it did— vithout breach.

Well, the State Department sat on Mr. Boyd, who at on the CAB, which told Pan Am and TWA to go head and raise the prices 5 per cent, but only to countries where it would be illegal not to. That meant Britain and Switzerland. These two worthies got fear- some angered, saying such selective increases would deflect a lot of American tourist gold to France, Ger- many, Italy, and points yonder. The IATA met in Bermuda, and talked. The British threatened to seize U.S. air transports and deny landing rights. The Senate Commerce Committee asked the State Depart- men's Abram Chayes why the U.S. couldn't retaliate in kind, and he said he didn't think the President had the constitutional right. Senator Frank Lausche asked for a copy of the Constitution. No one around the committee room could lay hold of one. That let Chayes get home free.

The IATA has skipped from Bermuda to Montreal, to hold some talks. Senator Warren Magnuson has gotten all puffed up with a bill to give the CAB the power to fix international rates. There's talk of spe- cial treatment for selected route segments, maybe the Greek hop. Anyway, the reduction in the reduc- tion is only temporary, until June 15 (some say), or July 1 (others say), or September 30 (little birdie

For the Record

Sen. Wayne Morse in (not unusual) dis- play of temper last week attacked Cuban refugees in Miami as "warmongers"; said if they didn't shut up they should "be tossed into jail and sent back [to Cuba] on the next boat." . . . Gaining cur- rency: reports that Soviets have under- sea missiles on ocean floor off Cuba capable of being launched electroni- cally. . . . It's doubtful Fidel Castro will make Peiping stopover en route home from Russia. Reason: Castro can't af- ford to offend Moscow whence all the goodies come. . . . Cuban figures in- dicate this year's sugar crop will be under three million tons; it topped six million in 1957-1961 period. . . . Ad- ministration doing its best to get Cuban refugees to accept Manuel Ray, Castro's former Public Works minister, as head of Cuban refugee committee.

Sen. Thomas Dodd still number one on Administration purge list for '64. Plans now call for running against Dodd one "organization" candidate, one "in- dependent" in next year's primary. Pos- sible candidate, William Benton. . . . Chairman Francis Walter of HUAC seri- ously ill, may not return to duty; suc- cessor as chairman would be the strong and knowledgeable Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana. . . . Edward Murrow's USIA has, according to a story a Congo offi- cial told Washington reporters, sent Léopoldville portraits of George Wash- ington and Abraham Lincoln—in black- face. . . . Gen. Maxwell Taylor's recent mission to Turkey—he tried to explain away high-handed U.S. decision to dis- mantle its Jupiter bases—apparently a failure. The Turks have since ruled out Polaris submarine bases.

Common Market now ready to accept Austria in as full member provided she adopts full customs union, agrees to full mobility of capital and labor, gives up her membership in Outer Seven. . . . Communist broadcasts from Prague and East Berlin now directed at foreign workers in West Germany, urging them to engage in slowdowns, sitdowns and sabo- tage for the "promotion of peace."

Post-splash details: Astronaut Gor- don Cooper was paid exactly $63.40 for the 34 hours he spent in space; his $100,000 life insurance policy cost him more than a test pilot's, less than the premium paid by certain types of steeplejacks.

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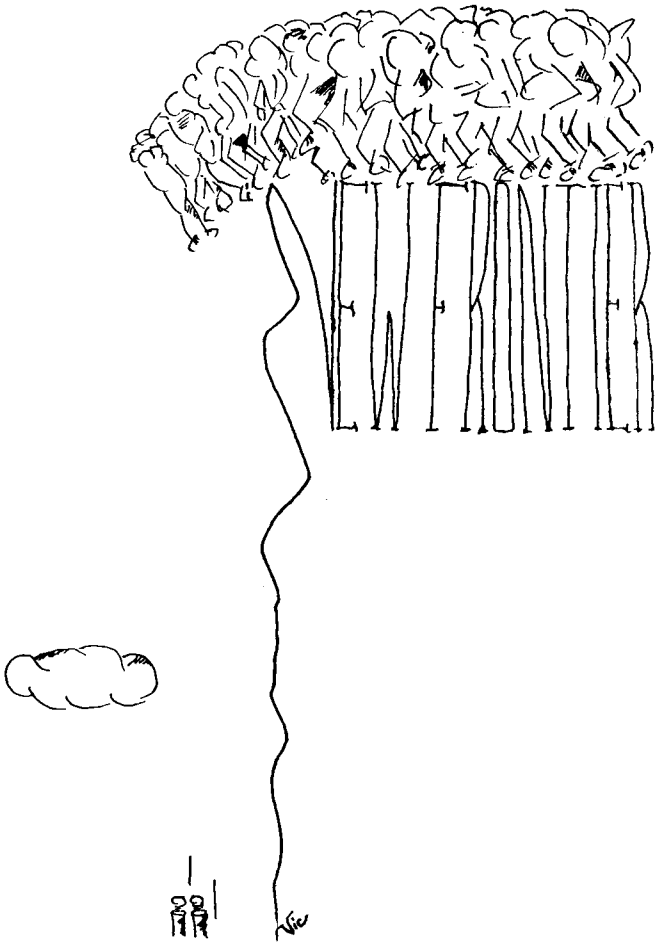
say). In these days of incredibly swift innovation in the technology of air transport, it's comforting, in a sort of anaesthetic way, to know that bureaucratic rate-fixers haven't forgotten how not to run a railroad.

Not That Wind

A little while ago a group of alumni of Stanford University in California, whose legend is "Let the winds of freedom blow," decided to found a Winds of Freedom Foundation, the purpose of which would be to stimulate anti-socialist thought at their alma mater. Their ambition was to make available one hundred thousand dollars per year to Stanford to be used to pay the salaries of top scholars in economics and political science, and to bring visiting speakers to the college to acquaint the sheltered student body with the view of life, *mutatis mutandis,* held by the founder of their university, Mr. Leland Stanford, and by its most prominent alumnus, Mr. Herbert Hoover. Last week the administration of Stanford announced that the university would not expose itself to the Winds of Freedom—on the grounds that to do so would be to compromise Stanford's independence. No gifts with strings attached, the administration said in effect.

At Yale two years ago a group of students whose views ranged right across the political spectrum—one was a left Democrat, one or two middle-of-the-roaders, one or two conservatives—wrote a public letter to the late president, Mr. Whitney Griswold, complaining of the absence from the campus of non-conformist (*i.e.,* conservative) scholarship and personnel. Needless to say, Yale did nothing about it—beyond the conventional response, which is to douse the problem in syrup, the kind of thing that has never yet failed to emulsify the resolution of her alumni. But the young generation gives signs of being tougher than their elders. The Yale students, enlisting the backing of their contemporaries, put together—mind you, we are talking about twenty- and twenty-one-year-olds —a Conservative Fund, based on a life insurance program which by the end of this year is expected to have a value of thirty-five thousand dollars. That fund will be used, in effect, to give a scholarship to a conservative at Yale, even if he has to grow whiskers and put on dark glasses to break into that bastion of academic freedom.

The relationship between the alumnus and his alma mater is the most ill-defined relationship in the modern world. It is obvious why one contributes money to the Community Fund or the Red Cross. It is not a bit obvious why conservatives should contribute to a college or university whose faculty are adamantly pursuing the kind of society the alumni wouldn't want their sons or grandchildren to have to live in.



We doubt very much that Stanford would refuse a restricted grant for studies in ancient Chinese history, or in atonal jazz. Its refusal to accept a grant for anti-collectivist studies implies, when all is said and done, that a professor who is intellectually responsible cannot be found to teach such a subject. It is one thing for the administration of Stanford to say that no gift will be accepted that confers on the donors the right to name to the faculty a man of their own choosing—Stanford's authority should be final in respect of the professional qualifications of her faculty. But it is something else again to say categorically, as Stanford has done, that no nominee of the alumni will be considered—irrespective of his qualifications.

There are economists in this country who disagree with the nostrums of the New Frontier, who would be unembarrassed by any comparison of their skills and learning with those of their colleagues who believe in inflationary and autocratic economics. There exist political scientists who believe in the vision of the Founding Fathers, in a balance of power in government, in a domesticated Executive, who have read as much history, and written as many good books, as those others who believe that the office of the Presidency is the vessel for the sanctification of America.

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The alumnus of Stanford, or of Yale, or of Jonesville, as he increases his understanding of the relationship between higher education and the destiny of mankind, is going to begin to ask himself profounder questions than whether he wishes to finance the college where, as a youth, he spent so many pleasant days drinking beer and cheering on the old home team.

Geneva Trade Talks

Christian Herter, the President's special tariff hurdler, managed to come away from the Geneva conference of GATT with at least some evidence he had been there, namely: the Common Market countries gave up their absolute demand for proportional cuts toward a 10 per cent floor. In return the U.S. gave up its absolute demand for proportional cuts across the board.

Although all fifty members of the GATT countries were there, the real business lay in getting the U.S. and the Common Market plugged into some kind of formula that lower-level working groups can fiddle with before the big GATT meeting next May. For a while it looked as if the Trade Expansion Act, which President Kennedy had hailed as a White House instrument for trade "liberalization," was a gone goose; but the last-minute compromise kept the thing alive.

The Common Market countries were aiming in particular at the protectionist tariffs of the U.S. chemical industry, thanks to which we export nine times the value of chemicals we import, and at other oddments such as the 90 per cent tariff we slap on imported gloves (the Common Market gets along with 10 per cent there). Agricultural tariffs can't solidify into a real battleground until the Common Market itself has settled on an agricultural policy, but even here some elements of contention were in full sight, not the least of which was last Tuesday's wheat referendum, the joyous outcome no doubt adding force to the argument that Europe ought to stop subsidizing its farmers Orville-Freemanwise.

But these matters drive deep. In Geneva the talk was of trade restrictions, and how to do away with them, and there are more kinds of hurdles than the tariff. U.S. laws governing the inspection of meat, for instance, tend to reduce meat shipments to this country. Will anything be done? Does Congress, do the American people, want to do anything here? How about the outright protectionist import quotas we have, as on lead and zinc? And of course there's a tight connection between Trade Expansion and such laws as the anti-dumping clauses on commodities.

Serious, delicate, complex questions here, not excluding unmentionables such as how to corner a domestic voting bloc downstate or out West. And, always, we rely more and more on government, which is why we can't order a case of wine direct from Cousin Pierre, and send him a gallon of maple syrup in return. Why not? Because it's illegal.

Notes and Asides

The nation's press has elected to give considerable publicity to the lawsuit recently brought by Dr. Linus Pauling against NATIONAL REVIEW, its editor, and its publisher. Dr. Pauling wants a million dollars because NATIONAL REVIEW spoke its well-stocked mind about him on two occasions, drawing inferences from research done on Dr. Pauling's career by a congressional committee. NATIONAL REVIEW is prepared to defend its opinions, and its right to give them, against the harassments of any man. It certainly will not be intimidated by a litigious publicist who, in the sober words of a Senate subcommittee, "had over a period of many years, evinced a general readiness to collaborate with Communists."

The universal exasperation with the terms "liberal" and "conservative" has to do with the obvious difficulties of using them with any precision. At NATIONAL REVIEW we feel that one fight which we cannot hope to win is that one which calls for imposing a new nomenclature on society—for in language, it is true, there is no law save usage; though we are, of course, mindful of the errors and dangers of the purely plebiscitary approach to language, which for instance dominates the most recent edition of *Webster's Dictionary*. (Those who are interested in the philological battle should read Dwight Macdonald's brilliant review of *Webster*, first published in the *New Yorker*, and republished in his most recent collection of essays, *Against the American Grain*.) But let no one, pondering the reformation, be afraid to use the word "liberal" to signify a position which tends toward weakness on the Communist issue, external and internal. A United Press dispatch from San Francisco [May 6, 1963] begins with the following sentence: "A liberal group favoring the admission of Communist China to the United Nations and the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities retained control today of the California Federation of Young Democrats." So it's not only we who use the word that way. It's everybody. Granted, if UPI were describing the views of a group which, at the other end of the political spectrum, were to call, say, for withdrawing recognition from the Soviet Union, and exiling convicted Communists, said group would be designated as "extremist." Language, it's wonderful, and terrible.

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On the Right

The Partial Insight of Mr. Minow

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Mr. Newton Minow, until last week the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, has come and gone, and however confused a man he manifestly is, he deserves, I think, a kind word from those who do not believe that the free enterprise system should evolve as a warrant for compulsory Philistinism. What made Mr. Minow controversial was primarily his statement, upon assuming office early in Mr. Kennedy's Administration, that the television world was a dismaying wasteland of repetitious junk. That statement affronted the feelings of two powerful groups. Firstly, the mass audiences who, having registered their preference via the various popularity recorders, resent being told that their liking for Moon Mullins TV is an index of the low estate of American taste. Secondly, those producers who, pandering to what they understand to be that American taste, resent being told that they are active accomplices in the debasement of American culture.

Buckley

Getting a License

A third group of Mr. Minow's critics I guardedly associate myself with. Mr. Minow followed up his lament with clumsy threats of retaliation against recalcitrant broadcasters. Thus Mr. Minow darkly threatened television and radio broadcasters with the withdrawal of their licenses if they failed to live up to those lofty statements of public-spiritedness which they need to flaunt to win and renew licenses from the FCC.

The FCC encourages a rank hypocrisy, offensive to honest men. The overwhelming majority of persons who run a broadcasting station (I, incidentally, am one of them) are required to execute a statement of purposes as hypocritical as the Soviet Constitution, wherein one promises in one's career as broadcaster to be guided by heavenly motives of public service and universal enlightenment which have absolutely nothing whatever to do with the sordid business of getting and spending, which is why most people get into the radio-TV business. If you carried out the implicit promises of that broadcasters' pledge, you would feel dirty and delinquent every time you left off serializing Homer, or putting on John Mason Brown to recite the "Areopagitica."

Taking advantage of the discrepancy between pledge and performance, Mr. Minow's men sent out letters threatening to act adversely on routine applications for license renewals from radio stations which devote their twenty-four hours per day to broadcasting deodorant commercials together with contributions to musical literature along the lines of "Fry Me Cookie With a Can o' Lard."

All right then—abolish those hypocritical forms. But having done that, what are we left with? Exactly what we have got—by and large, a wasteland. The free enterprise fundamentalist who at this point says, "Well, if that is what the people want, it is the substance of freedom that they should have it," neglects an important distinction. The number of channels available for broadcasting is limited by physical circumstances, and the government is, for necessary reasons, the landlord of the nation's ether waves. There is no room at all for the minority. In the world of letters, by contrast, there are infinite possibilities for catering to cultivated and inquisitive tastes. You may publish a small magazine, or bring out a quality book, or record; searching out your audience wherever it exists. But in the typical metropolis, if you own a radio or television set you have no alternative. You pitch your tent in the wasteland, or you stay outside—there is nowhere, nowhere else to go.

Mr. Minow's great mistake, which derives I fear from those egalitarian biases (he is a firebrand Liberal) which so often confound purposive thought, was his failure to get vigorously behind the only sensible solution for the dilemma, which is pay-TV (and, if you like, pay-radio). I was asked to testify years ago before the FCC when the broadcasting world was convulsed by the payola scandals, and there I made the humble suggestion that the only way out was to encourage entrepreneurs to seek out their quality audiences by giving them pay-TV outlets. The then chairman of the Commission stared blandly in my face and said, "I take it, Mr. Buckley, you are not aware that the Commission has done precisely that—authorized a comprehensive pay-TV development program." Yeah. That was three years ago. I live in the largest metropolis in the world. And there is no pay-TV within reach of my inflamed quarter. If we had a comprehensive development program for reaching the moon comparable to the FCC's program for pay-TV, we might expect to reach there sometime after the Communists become worried about the moon's population explosion.

Free Market Alternative

There are so many problems it is a special pity not to solve those that are solvable by merely overriding the pressures of those who desire that everyone be subjected to the same thing, and the pressures of the vested interests who do not wish the competition that would arise from men and women who would willingly pay a few cents to stop a while at a cultural oasis. Mr. Minow was 90 per cent correct in his indictment of contemporary TV. (He did not pay the industry its due. If you watch carefully enough, there are some very good programs. And I'd rather see "Our Miss Brooks" any time than the average highbrow Broadway play.) But he did not show the insight to encourage the free market alternative to the wastelanders' monopoly. That is why he flopped. Even so, I doff my hat to him. He had guts, even if he was blind to the solution. What a pity nobody told him.

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Joseph Cotten
David Merrick
Peter Glenville
Kaye Ballard
Lionel Bart
Patricia Medina (Mrs. Joseph Cotten)
Margaret Leighton
Barbra Streisand
Georgia Brown
Rita Gam
Goldie Hawkins
Faye Emerson
Lilly Daché

David Merrick gives a backstage party

and serves Vat 69, the traditionally mild Scotch you'll recommend tomorrow. This world-famous theatrical producer of the smash Broadway hit musical "Oliver!" knows what pleases his discerning friends. It's the rare combination of gentle flavor and satisfying Highland Character offered only by a truly classic Scotch. Have you tried Vat 69 lately?

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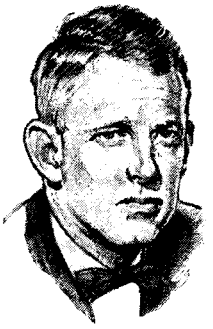
National Trends

Alabama Goes to Court

L. BRENT BOZELL

The President of the United States dropped in on the South last week, and read his hosts a lecture on Upholding the Law. "The educated citizen," he reminded Vanderbilt University, "has a special responsibility" in this regard: "by virtue of his greater understanding . . . he knows that law is the adhesive force of the cement of society, creating order out of chaos and coherence in the place of anarchy." The same day the governor of Alabama, acting for his state, filed a suit in the United States Supreme Court that asked, in effect, whether the educated citizens of the Kennedy Administration are concerned with discharging this special responsibility, or merely with gassing about it.



Bozell

The suit poses a narrow legal issue —did the President act within his authority in sending federal troops to Alabama in the wake of the Birmingham riots?—but it is not an uncomplicated one in the light of the way Alabama's lawyers have chosen to plead the case, and we had best understand why. Alabama's principal contention, judging by her brief, is that the Act of Congress under which the President dispatched the troops is unconstitutional. She charges, secondly, that the 14th Amendment, to which the Act refers, is itself "null and void." And thirdly, there is a suggestion, assuming the Act is valid, that the President's action did not comply with its conditions. Now the brief, curiously, advances this third argument only by implication; but since it appears to stand on by far the strongest ground, we should examine it first.

The statute in question had been wrongly identified in some press accounts as the modern statement of a law Congress first passed in 1795 to enable President Washington to deal with the Whiskey Rebellion. That law, which is still on the books, authorizes the President to use federal forces to put down "insurrections" against state governments, but only "upon the request" of the state legislature, or of the governor if the legislature is out of session. Governor Wallace of course did not make such a request in the Birmingham case, and Mr. Kennedy understandably did not summon that power. He invoked, rather, a law the Reconstruction Congress enacted in 1871, the provisions of which are:

"*The President, by using the militia or the armed forces . . . shall take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress in a State any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination or conspiracy if it* [that is, "domestic violence"]—

"*1. So hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail or refuse to protect that right, privilege or immunity, or to give that protection; or*

"*2. Opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws.*

"*In any situation covered by Clause 1, a State shall be considered to have denied the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution.*"

Clearly, then, under this statute the President can send in troops without waiting for the state government to call for aid; but just as clearly he cannot send them whenever he feels like it. He has discretion, *but that discretion comes into play only when certain conditions are met.* First, there must be some "domestic violence" or "insurrection," and let us agree that condition was met by the Negro rioters. Second, the domestic violence *must be the cause* (according to clause 1) of such a "hindering" of the execution of the laws, state or federal, as to amount to a denial of equal protection; or (according to clause 2) of the actual obstruction of federal laws. Now: how in Heaven's name—granted they created a certain amount of havoc—can the Negro riots be said to have caused either of *those* consequences? Finally, assuming it is a violence-inspired denial of equal protection under clause 1 we are talking about, the local authorities must have shown themselves either unable or unwilling to deal with the situation. Yet the authorities in Birmingham apparently *did* have the matter under control before Kennedy pushed the button.

Under the circumstances, it seems to have been unnecessary for Governor Wallace to have raised constitutional issues, and the decision to do so may unfortunately have the result of obscuring a clear case of federal aggression. Why, for example, choose this time to go into the legality of the 14th Amendment—the question of whether it was properly ratified? The argument that it was *improperly* ratified is historically irrefragable, but the Supreme Court has never been willing to pass upon that contention, nor is there any possibility that public pressure will force it to do so now. As for the constitutionality of the statute, it is true that the Guaranty Clause assures state governments of federal troop protection only on request, but it is arguable whether that provision purports to set forth the *only* circumstances in which the President can act. And such a restriction is doubly doubtful in the light of the 14th Amendment's provision that "Congress shall have power to enforce [the Amendment, including its equal protection clause] by appropriate legislation."

It is undoubtedly too much to hope that Alabama will win her case: the President's cavalier action is not likely to raise many eyebrows on a Court that handed down those sit-in decisions. But by focusing on the right issues Alabama's lawyers can help put the public straight on who is and who isn't concerned these days with working out the nation's terrible racial problem within the framework of law.

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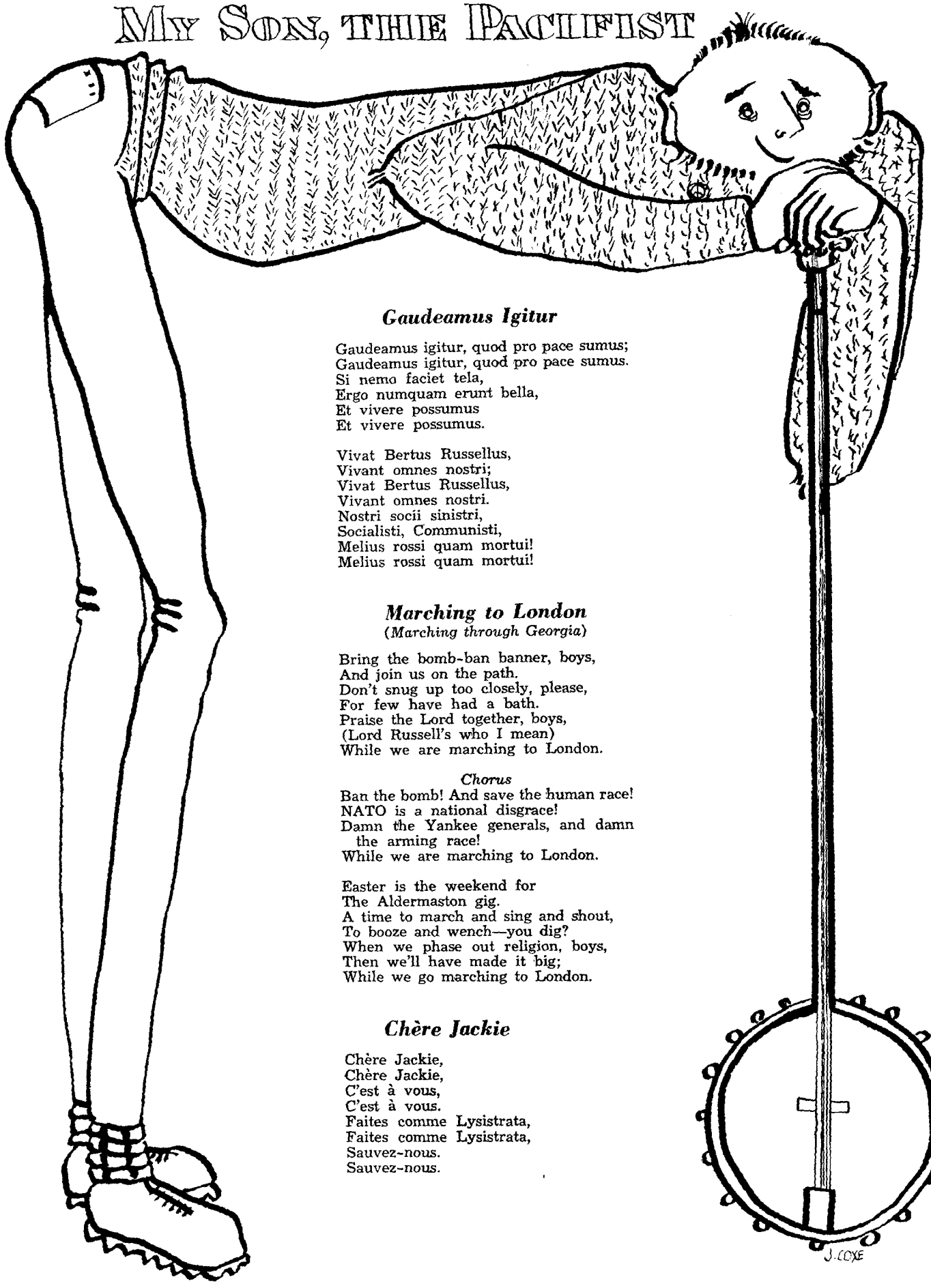
My Son, the Pacifist



Gaudeamus Igitur

Gaudeamus igitur, quod pro pace sumus;
Gaudeamus igitur, quod pro pace sumus.
Si nemo faciet tela,
Ergo numquam erunt bella,
Et vivere possumus
Et vivere possumus.

Vivat Bertus Russellus,
Vivant omnes nostri;
Vivat Bertus Russellus,
Vivant omnes nostri.
Nostri socii sinistri,
Socialisti, Communisti,
Melius rossi quam mortui!
Melius rossi quam mortui!

Marching to London
(Marching through Georgia)

Bring the bomb-ban banner, boys,
And join us on the path.
Don't snug up too closely, please,
For few have had a bath.
Praise the Lord together, boys,
(Lord Russell's who I mean)
While we are marching to London.

Chorus
Ban the bomb! And save the human race!
NATO is a national disgrace!
Damn the Yankee generals, and damn
the arming race!
While we are marching to London.

Easter is the weekend for
The Aldermaston gig.
A time to march and sing and shout,
To booze and wench—you dig?
When we phase out religion, boys,
Then we'll have made it big;
While we go marching to London.

Chère Jackie

Chère Jackie,
Chère Jackie,
C'est à vous,
C'est à vous.
Faites comme Lysistrata,
Faites comme Lysistrata,
Sauvez-nous.
Sauvez-nous.

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What About the Sino-Soviet 'Split'?

That Red China is an underdeveloped nation has an important bearing on the present Sino-Soviet ideological split, says M. Monnerot

JULES MONNEROT

The world in 1949 seemed to be dominated by the duality and consequent antagonism of East and West. In the succeeding period another duality has made its appearance, more important perhaps than the first: the duality of economically underdeveloped or "static" countries and those with a developed or "dynamic" economy. The two dualities do not coincide and do not support the same antagonisms. For the line between developed and static countries cuts the Communist world in two. While Soviet Russia has her place in the world of dynamic economies, China has yet to emerge from the world of static economies. The USSR is in a category with the great capitalistic countries, the United States and Western Europe; and Red China is grouped with a host of non-Communist states. This new duality goes a long way toward explaining the widely-advertised "split" in the Communist camp. Let us see why this is so. In the typical Western analysis, the non-Communist, static countries make up a third world (*tiers monde*), a world which needs the aid of developed countries. And for such aid to contribute to progress according to this view, public order is a necessary political precondition, and this is why the West has encouraged the emergence of political entities—states—modeled on Western forms.

This analysis would seem to be diametrically opposed to the traditional teaching of revolutionary Communism. In 1923 Lenin wrote: "The final outcome of the struggle will depend on the simple fact that Russia, China, India, etc., make up the immense majority of the world's population. In recent years this majority has been impelled more and more rapidly to fight for its liberation, and there can be no doubt concerning the end result of this world-wide battle. This is why the final victory of socialism is guaranteed in advance." In his final years, Lenin believed that the direct Communization of the Chinese, Indians, and other similar peoples was the surest route to World Revolution; he evidently did not envision any intermediate, "softening-up" steps in the underdeveloped parts of the world. The Chinest Communists continue to hold this view.

Revisionism vs. *Dogmatism*

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, appears to have accepted the concept of a *tiers monde*, similar to the Western idea. This need not, of course, be a permanent commitment—the "dialectic" could justify an about-face at any time. But for the moment the Kremlin believes it cannot subvert other nations rapidly enough to avoid the risk of their economic collapse; nor does it presently possess the means—as long as China must also be sustained—to bring non-Communist countries under Soviet domination through economic aid. Therefore, taking a long view of the matter, the Russians see the existence of a *tiers monde* as an inevitable phase of the Revolution. And so Peiping is right in a way when it accuses Moscow of "revisionism." Mao, who would like to skip the intermediate stages, is closer to the Lenin of 1923 than Khrushchev.

But a good deal more is involved than contentions about doctrinal purity. From an economic viewpoint, the Soviet attitude has placed China at a tragic impasse. On the one hand, the Soviet decision to answer President Truman's Point Four challenge by an aid program of its own to underdeveloped countries has deprived the USSR of the means to help China and her 700 million people pass from a static to a dynamic economy. Although Soviet aid to underdeveloped countries is comparatively small it has made it impossible for the Kremlin to give China the massive economic hypodermic it needs. And the very fact that Mao Tse-tung has managed to bring off the second great Communist revolution in history, means that the capitalist aid which flows so freely to the countries of the *tiers monde* does not go to China. If China were not Communist she could, like Egypt, Pakistan, India and so on, expect and receive aid. But having chosen the "Leninist way," China has

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cut herself off from the *tiers monde*. Moreover—and this was always a third possibility—there is little or no prospect of an equalization of Russian and Chinese standards of living through an integration of China into the USSR. The Soviet constitution, as it happens, is so worded as to make possible such an amalgam; but neither power is now interested in that solution.

This, then, is the economic dimension of the "split." Mao is now trying to solve his dilemma by persuading the entire Communist camp to embrace the revolutionary strategy advocated by Lenin. Through their cooperation with, and encouragement of, the radical elements of Communist parties throughout the world, the Chinese hope to force the Soviets to share with them the leadership of the world movement—and its profits as well. For only the pooled resources of a conquering international movement can help China solve her untenable economic situation. The penalties for failures, as the Chinese see it, are high: the longer it takes Mao to travel his Leninist road, the greater will become the disparity between Russian and Chinese standards of living—a conclusive demonstration that there is an equality in the socialist camp, that among Communist countries some are and will remain rich, while others are and will remain poor.

A psychological factor must be added to the economic one. As part of the non-white world, Communist China is tempted to project the Manichaeistic conflict of class struggle on to the plane of racial struggle. This tactic must be pressed subtly, even occultly, since Leninist doctrine does not permit a strictly racial confrontation. But a racist emphasis obviously makes Leninism even more attractive to non-whites. The upshot is that China's leaders aim to persuade the proletarian nations of Asia and Africa—as witness the campaign against India last fall—that there is no such thing as neutrality. The huge populations of the Afro-Asian world are to be regarded as the chosen instruments of Leninism; they are the revolution on the march. And by the success of this approach, the Chinese hope to show the Russians themselves that there can be no other strategy in the Communist camp except that imposed by the Revolution. . . . Thus does China's ambition of turning Peiping into the metropolis of the underprivileged races go hand in hand with the other ambition of proving her grand strategy to be more Leninist than the Kremlin's.

In Marxist terms, the Russo-Chinese antagonism may be said to represent a class struggle within the Communist camp, with proletarian Messianism passing from the white worker to the yellow-skinned peasant. China—not Russia—reflects the principal revolutionary themes of the present era: economic frustration and racist xenophobia. That is why her policies are utopian, activist, doctrinaire, and absolutist. The difference in economic levels in Soviet Russia and China, plus their different positions in the racial conflict, determine their political divergence: the *dogmatism* of the poor and the radically underprivileged is in opposition to the *revisionism* of those who have something to preserve. Accordingly, while the USSR is concerned with maintaining great power status—and consequently is committed to a more rational economic structure—the Chinese militants have other things on their minds. Their apparent objectives are 1) to dispossess the USSR of its primacy in the Communist world by restoring, institutionally, the Communist International, and by sharing its leadership with the Russians, *or* 2) if this proves impossible—as most probably it will—*to create a split in* the international Communist movement, and establish a separate Revolutionary International under Peiping's leadership. China would try to attract countries with static economies into this new organization by urging a return to Leninist revolutionary concepts—that is, by promising them a transformation from static to dynamic economic status *after* a decisive victory of Communism on a world-wide scale. (Such a promise would entail the prospect of white men at some future date being put to work for the colored races in much the same way as cybernetics is now used by white men.) Thus the eschatological objectives of the Revolution would materialize: the last ones would be realized first.

When China became Communist, many idealistic Marxists looked for a radical change in the international movement which had theretofore been a Russian-dominated monolith. The way things worked out, however, none of the prospects envisioned by the idealists materialized—neither the integration of the Communist world by the joining of China to Communist Europe, with a pooling of resources and an equalization of living standards, nor a dual leadership of the Communist world as the first step of a future polycentrism. The Russians insisted not only on preserving

their great power status and developing a dynamic economy, but on retaining leadership of the Communist movement. Indeed, it seemed that the only advantage the Soviets attributed to the Communization of China was the latter's disposition to make common cause against the Soviet Union's enemies.

Nevertheless, significant changes—of a very different sort from those envisioned—have taken place. A revolutionary Leninist party, entirely independent of the Kremlin, now controls the state apparatus of an enormous country. The Kremlin, which once could liquidate, demote or purge the leaders or members of Communist parties throughout the world, now witnesses the diminution of its prerogatives in several areas. Albania and Yugoslavia are examples, but the Chinese phenomenon has the greatest significance: China is not a satellite, in the accepted sense; it is actually independent. Moreover, China presents a threat to Russian leadership in areas outside her borders, for she may boast of a domestically-engineered revolution *and* of revolutionary orthodoxy with an ultra-Leninist orientation. The Soviet Union must therefore anticipate two modes of action by the Chinese leaders—aggression and subversion outside the Communist camp against everything under capitalist or white domination; and systematic ultra-Leninist agitation inside the Communist camp, possibly within the Soviet Union itself.

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In the former endeavor, the Chinese can be expected to concentrate on all non-European and non-North American areas. They may even try to influence ethnic minorities in the United States. But with its racist, anti-white motivations, such a revolutionary movement could hardly expect to achieve success among whites in economically developed countries. Revolutionary racism may appeal to the frustrated populations of Asia and Africa, but among white people it will enthuse only neurotic intellectuals.

This means that Communist China, with her ultra-Leninist approach, endangers the concept of the *tiers monde,* as underwritten both by the West and the Soviet Union. It does not mean, however, that there is any danger of China and Russia coming to blows over the matter. Russia is not likely, for fairly obvious reasons, to initiate armed conflict, and China is not able to. For militarily, China is not a great power; and she is not likely to become one in the foreseeable future. A great power today must have nuclear weapons and missiles. A respectable nuclear arsenal, in turn, requires a developed, dynamic economy. Lacking such weaponry and the means of acquiring it, the Chinese present no military threat to any major power, and nothing is sillier than the current journalistic tales suggesting the imminency of such a peril. The truth is just the opposite. China, with her human antheap and inability to counterattack, is eminently vulnerable to modern weapons; she is at the mercy of any great power supported by a dynamic economy—unless she has the protection of another great power, similarly equipped. Thus the idea that the "Chinese threat" may impel Russia to seek the friendship of the West—that it may drive all dynamic nations, including the USSR, into a common society governed by certain rules of orderly behavior—is plainly wishful thinking. What the Russo-Chinese split means simply is that the two leaders of the Communist camp, for a variety of reasons, have adopted different strategies and different tactics, and that each seeks to impose its judgment on the camp as a whole.

The Revised Conclusion of James Reston

The Romney backers, with the smell of a Goldwater victory in the air, are surfacing their man a full year early: that's how worried they are

PHILIP R. BUSHNELL

On April 12 James Reston, chief of the Washington Bureau of the *New York Times,* reported in his column, with obvious irritation, that New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller had made some inexcusably un-Liberal remarks to a news conference in Washington a couple of days earlier. The remarks, Reston pointed out, were all the more offensive because they were unnecessary: Rockefeller, quoth he, "has about as much chance of losing the Republican [Presidential] nomination as he has of going broke," and therefore had no need to curry favor with the party's reactionaries.

Just three weeks later, however, the percipient Mr. Reston had dramatically changed his mind. "The Republican nominating race," he advised his breathless readers on May 3, "is up for grabs"—presumably leaving the more literal-minded among them to wonder if Rockefeller was now also in danger of going broke.

What can have changed Mr. Reston's mind so swiftly? I am not among those who would blame some single disagreeable event, such as the burgeoning scandal in Rockefeller's graft-saturated State Liquor Authority, or his five-year entanglement with Mrs. Murphy. (Their marriage was still in the future when Reston wrote.) Such things will no doubt take their toll, but they cannot account, all by themselves, for Rockefeller's amazing nosedive from the eminence of alleged "front runner" for the nomination to the role of a less-than-likely contender in just a few weeks. The facts—as usual—are more complex.

In the first place, the notion that Rockefeller ever had the 1964 nomination "sewed up" was sheer nonsense—the sort of mouthwash ready-made for Liberal addicts to gargle during the cold winter months to ward off conservative chills. The Republican leaders around the country may be deplorably gullible, but they are not crazy, and they were not—and are not yet—ready to make up their minds about the outcome of a convention that is still well over a year away. Moreover, those in a position to count the relevant noses were aware all along that Senator Barry Goldwater had, even at Rockefeller's supposed peak, vastly more latent strength among probable delegates and party workers than the average political reporter was conceding to him.

In the second place, such strength as Rockefeller *had* been able to gather started falling apart like Hogan's cart just as soon as the returns of the 1962 off-year elections could be analyzed. These—and especially the New York figures, which showed Rockefeller's strength off more than a third, statewide, from his 1958 majority—made it crystal-clear that Rockefeller couldn't carry New York in a wheelbarrow in 1964 against

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Kennedy, and stood even less chance (if possible) in California and certain other supposedly crucial states. [See "Crossroads for the GOP," *NR*, Feb. 12, 1963.]

In the third place, these same 1962 returns—and in this case particularly those from the South—produced a sensation among political analysts when a close perusal revealed that Barry Goldwater, by campaigning to carry the normally Republican states *and sweep the hitherto Democratic South*, would constitute by far the deadliest Republican threat to Kennedy in 1964. A National Draft-Goldwater Committee, well-armed with arguments along this line, was launched in Washington on April 8.

Trial and Error

All of these portents, as well as the liquor scandal and a whole series of well-substantiated rumors about Mrs. Murphy, were high above the horizon when Reston delivered himself—prematurely, as it turned out—of the dictum quoted at the outset. Since Mr. Reston is a good reporter, we must attribute his blunder in this case to overwork. After all, it must be hard to pontificate about so much without getting off the beam about *something*.

Anyway, as already noted, Br'er Reston subsequently corrected himself and officially declared the nomination "up for grabs." As a matter of fact, the situation is a good bit more encouraging than that, from the standpoint of conservatives. Rockefeller's near-collapse, initiated by the 1962 returns and accelerated by the liquor scandal and his matrimonial antics, seems likely to continue at an increasing pace. (Carl Shipley, Republican Chairman of the District of Columbia and an early passenger on the Rockefeller bandwagon, abandoned it so precipitately in early May that Washington wits nicknamed him "Carl Shiftley.") Goldwater's momentum, on the other hand, is currently so great, and growing so rapidly, that the chief concern of those who are working for his nomination is to prevent the enthusiasm for him from cresting prematurely.

But it is assuredly too early to cheer his victory. So profoundly have the Rockefeller decline and the Goldwater groundswell altered the Republican scene that a third contender has been flushed from cover a full year before his canny managers had planned to expose him seriously to the public gaze: George Romney, the glossy but prayerful governor of Michigan.

For some time it has been clear that a number of familiar Republican figures were taking no part in the dust-up between the Goldwater conservatives and the Rockefeller Liberals in the GOP. The chief wallflower was none other than former President Dwight D. Eisenhower himself; but much the same could be said of Ike's principal fund-raiser, Clifford Folger, as well as former Vice President Nixon and the latter's ex-campaign manager, former Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall. (When Len Hall doesn't seem to have a candidate, the omission cannot be laid to lack of interest; there is obviously something covert afoot.) Even Henry Luce—a long-time friend and political ally of Mr. Eisenhower—was strangely silent.

It now seems clear that this bloc around Eisenhower has all along intended a third solution to the problem of 1964. Their first move in this direction was to try to elect men close to themselves as governors (and hence as leaders of the Republican convention delegations) of some very important states: New Jersey, where Ike's former Labor Secretary James Mitchell ran and lost in 1961; Nebraska and California, where former Interior Secretary Seaton and former Vice President Nixon ran and lost in 1962; and Pennsylvania and Michigan, where Scranton and Romney were elected in that same year.

Three defeats out of five starts undoubtedly left the Eisenhower forces in some disarray; but Scranton and Romney had gotten through to their respective state houses, and the basic Third Force strategy probably seemed, after last November 6, as sound as ever: let Goldwater and Rockefeller batter each other into unacceptability, and then (the later the better) bring forward a compromise candidate—a middle-of-the-roader behind whom all Republicans could unite. [See "Someone's in the Kitchen With Dinah," *NR*, Dec. 4, 1962.] To help slow down the supposedly "front-running" Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Luce devoted no less than sixteen pages of a spring issue of *Life* to the Great Liquor Scandal in Rockefeller's state administration.

The blow was not only unnecessary—it helped weaken Rockefeller to a point where he could no longer serve as a convenient foil for the heavy Goldwater pressures that were swiftly building up across the country. While it is as silly to speak of Goldwater as of Rockefeller "sewing up" the convention this far in advance, it is a truism in politics that "you can't beat somebody with nobody"; and by the spring of 1963 it was pretty plain that, to many a voter, Rockefeller was not much better than nobody. It is not hard to imagine the warnings brought back to General Eisenhower at SHAEF in Gettysburg by Len Hall and others: *Get our boy in that race and fast, or Goldwater is going to win it by default.*

Countdown Stepped Up

So behold Governor Romney of Michigan, early in May, being hastily "introduced" to Washington political society at a reception thrown by Mrs. Marriott, the Republican National Committeewoman for the District of Columbia, and the aforementioned Mr. Folger. Behold Leonard Hall moving easily among the guests, smiling his affable I-Gotta-Candidate smile. Nothing gross, you understand; the cautious governor firmly denied that he is a candidate or will ever be one, but shrank from a ruthlessly Shermanesque rejection of the Presidency. It was that very day that James Reston saw the light, and decided the nomination was "up for grabs" after all.

So there you have it: Goldwater's

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The Third World War

How Europe Sees It

JAMES BURNHAM

A trip to Europe, such as I have just completed, gives a chance to look at American policy, for a while, as if through European eyes. Reading the European press day by day, listening to Europeans, *not* reading the American press, and merely *being* among the sights, sounds, smells and activities of Europe shift the mind at least part way into the European perspective.

Burnham

Although Europeans divide in their attitude toward America generally and President Kennedy in particular, they are agreed, from left to right, about what they believe the main lines of American foreign policy in fact are in the third year of the Kennedy Administration. As they see it, Washington seeks:

1) To get a nuclear test ban agreement with Moscow on almost any basis, and to go on from that to nuclear control and disarmament. Washington's goal here (Europeans believe) is not so much the bilateral agreement with Moscow for its own sake as the prevention of the spread of nuclear arms, which Washington thinks (mistakenly, in European opinion) can be accomplished as a byproduct of a Soviet-American agreement. Europeans, noting that the search for a test ban has been the most consistent and persistent element of American policy for some years, consider it the key to the policy as a whole.

2) To avoid a "direct confrontation" with Soviet power, for fear that this might "escalate into nuclear warfare." In evading confrontation, as in Laos and the Congo, Washington makes use of the United Nations as a buffer. A partial direct confrontation has been risked only on one occasion, when Soviet missiles in Cuba seemed about to pose an immediate and critical threat to mainland United States.

3) To abandon the commitment to the nuclear defense of western Europe. Washington presents this in positive terms, as the development of a "flexible European defense capability" founded on "adequate conventional forces." The real motive, as Europeans understand it, is Washington's unwillingness to accept the nuclear damage to mainland United States that is judged to be inevitable if American nuclear weapons were used for the defense of Europe.

4) To make a "world deal" with Moscow at the expense of Europe. This deal would be the generalization of the nuclear agreement. By the nature of the case, it would have to accept the status quo in central and eastern Europe, including the division of Germany. It would divide the non-European world into two spheres of interest of the two super-powers. Washington, they believe, thinks that the Russians are being pushed toward the deal by their conflict with China.

5) To muscle into the former European colonial areas in Africa and Asia, whether or not a deal with Moscow is worked out. In terms of American actions rather than words, decolonization simply means, as many Europeans understand it, opening the door wide to American business and political influence.

These Premises Given

Western Europe, at any rate on its home territory, is in far better shape than just after the war, and stronger in relation to both the Soviet Union and the United States. Nevertheless, serious Europeans realize that no West European nation individually nor West Europe as a whole (to the extent that it can function as a whole) has yet entered the class of the two super-powers. West Europeans, severally or together, cannot have an independent world strategy nor take a basic strategic initiative. Their position is essentially defensive: witness American military occupation and Afro-Asian decolonization. They can only react or respond to the strategies of the super-powers.

Against this background, it becomes possible to interpret the moves of the West European nations over the past two years as variant responses to their estimate of the course of American foreign policy under the Kennedy Administration.

The Macmillan government reconciles itself to a role as "loyal" junior partner in an Anglo-Saxon combine; and meanwhile, assuming the status quo in eastern Europe to be now accepted, strives to expand Britain's east European commercial and trade relations.

The Italian governing party, the Christian Democrats, judges it to be ridiculous, when Washington aims at a Soviet deal, to try to sustain a firm anti-Communist and anti-Soviet posture. Much better to get under the wire ahead of time. So the government energy trust (ENI) trades pipe and machines and chemicals for oil; and domestically the Demochristians turn to the Opening on the Left.

Sauve Qui Peut

The Vatican, drawing the same sort of practical conclusion, supports the Opening in Italy; and, assuming that east European liberation is ruled out by Washington's attitude, moves carefully toward a modus vivendi with the Communist governments.

France tries to consolidate under her leadership a "little Europe," independent of Anglo-Saxon control and equipped with a sufficient nuclear force to be able to trigger the nuclear weapons of the super-powers. If successful, little Europe might thereby be able to mount a combined balancing and blackmail operation permitting it to make its own deals for its own benefit.

West Germany, dragging the hobbles of defeat, paces nervously, trying to keep all lines—to Washington, Paris, London *and* Moscow — open while the Adenauer curtain is rung down. . . .

It makes fairly good sense as you think it over.

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Letter from the Continent

As the Council Reconvenes

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Is there a real, organic connection between the apparent, though not actual *apertura a sinistra* in the Catholic Church and the theological currents that made themselves felt at the Vatican Council? Outside the Continent the labels "Liberal-progressive" and "conservative-autocratic," applied to the contending parties at the Vatican Council, have led to grave distortions of fact, especially if attempts are made to establish a correlation between ecclesiastical, theological and political thinking. Political concepts in Catholic ecclesiastical thinking are, moreover, difficult to pigeonhole because Church-State relationships are not easily labeled Right or Left. In the German Catholic Church for instance, there lives on a Ghibelline (anti-Roman) as well as a Guelph (ultramontanist) tradition. Which is Right, which Left? And what about Gallicanism? Are the "democratic thinkers" among the Church's political scientists in favor of or opposed to Roman centralism? When a number of Spanish and even South American bishops sided with the French-German group at the Council, were they Liberal in theological and ecclesiastical matters or simply anti-Roman, or both? Many high prelates and outstanding theologians on the Right strongly favor radical changes in ecclesiastical practices.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

In and around Rome these complexities continue to exist. It is an open secret that theological and ecclesiastical conservatism (and reaction) is strongest in certain quarters of the Curia, notably in the Holy Office presided over by Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, the son of a baker in Trastevere. The motto Cardinal Ottaviani chose for his coat of arms is "*Semper idem.*" He is close to the relatively young Lateran University which stands more and more as a fortress against the Gregorian University and the Biblical Institute (*Biblicum*), both Jesuit strongholds. Cardinal Ottaviani is a staunch anti-Communist as well as a conservative in theological matters. But he is also a defender of denominational intolerance and favors a Church-State theory as obsolete as that of the radical separationists. (And that is obsolete indeed!) And yet, in a manual on the "Public Church Law," he insists that no country today has the right to start a war. Pius XII publicly disputed this dangerous view.

The Lateran University, from which scandalously uncharitable attacks were launched against the *Biblicum*, is, on the other hand, the laboratory where *Mater et Magistra* was composed. The Jesuits of the Gregoriana (some of them authors of important parts of *Quadragesimo Anno*) had already been commissioned to write that document when it was suddenly taken out of their hands and the task transferred largely to the Lateran University. From the Curia, mostly from Archbishop Felici, came a violent attack against Father Lombardi, a Jesuit and Italy's foremost fighter against Communism. The Jesuits, it is true, have always been the Church's most Liberal or, if you prefer, most libertarian order in theological matters.

Trends Vary With Countries

It is vital to keep in mind that, while a certain connection exists between the Italian local scene, with its *apertura a sinistra*, and the East European policy of John XXIII, the theological or purely liturgical measures, trends, and developments are quite another matter. They sometimes assume different aspects in different countries. Thus American Liberal Catholics are by no means enchanted at the prospect of greater episcopal autonomy, one of the urgent demands of practically all Europeans north of the Alps, conservatives and progressives alike.

The most important part of the Ecumenical Council is yet ahead. There have been few tangible results thus far but the demonstration that the majority of the bishops favor change is in itself of truly historic importance. In the second session of the Council those opposed to change —now clearly outnumbered—will make a definite stand. (The American bishops, coming from an essentially conservative country and suspicious of innovations, slowly began to swing away from these positions during the first session.)

Many jokes are current in Rome, showing a mixture of Italian wit, French sarcasm, and German humor. Practically all are levelled at the diehards, especially Cardinal Ottaviani. One anecdote: Cardinal Ottaviani, late for a Council meeting, jumps into a taxi and shouts: "*Al Concilio!*" Presently he notices that they have crossed the Ponte Milvio and are heading north at top speed. "Where *are* you going?" he asks in exasperation, to which the driver replies: "Why, you said 'to the Council'. We are on the road to Trent!" (To fight the Reformation once again is the implication!)

It is also rumored that Cardinal Ottaviani now uses slightly different words at the beginning of the Mass. Instead of "Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa" he now says: "Bea culpa, Bea culpa, Bea Maximos culpa!" The reference is to Cardinal Bea, who has worked hard for a greater understanding with non-Catholic Christians, and to Patriarch Maximos IV of Antioch who has criticized Roman centralism and narrow Latinism in ringing words. Sharp tongues even insinuate that Cardinal Ottaviani is praying that the Lord may take him before the second session of the Council ends "so that he may die still a Catholic."

The Catholic Church is a complex structure. It is not easy for an outsider to judge how it operates when even insiders are only too easily misled. But through the centuries, although the Church has lost terrain here and there, she has emerged from most controversies as a vital, ever expanding structure.

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Giving the Consumer the What-For

When the Administration goes into the business of helping out the consumer, it is high time to recall the Roman warning: *Caveat Emptor*

WILLIAM H. PETERSON

On March 22, 1962 President Kennedy made good on one of his 1960 campaign promises. He sent a special message to Congress outlining the plight of the consumer and two months later he appointed a twelve-member Consumers' Advisory Council (CAC) to carry through on his program. At long last the Forgotten Man, the consumer—unorganized and unrepresented in collective bargaining and in government councils—was to be assured a voice in Washington.

But before the consumer leaps into the air clicking his heels in joy, he should take a good, hard look at what the new "consumer orientation" of the Administration entails.

The CAC celebrated its first anniversary a fortnight ago by releasing a lengthy statement lauding Paul Douglas's "Truth-in-Lending" bill, Philip Hart's (D., Mich.) "Truth-in-Packaging" bill, and the release by the Federal Government in recent weeks of numerous consumers' pamphlets. The Douglas bill, says the CAC, will "reinvigorate price competition in the consumer credit market, and thereby contribute to the free enterprise system." The Hart bill will "promote the rational functioning of the American enterprise system" by prescribing "permissible sizes and shapes of packages, standards for the designation of sizes and net quantity, and information as to ingredients and composition of commodities."

And more is promised. In his catchall consumer message, the President hailed the Securities and Exchange Commission investigation of the stock market for the protection it will afford the investing consumer. He asks for adoption of the Kefauver drug proposals, contending that "it is time to give American men, women and children the same protection we have been giving hogs, sheep and cattle." He requested federal "review" of auto design to reduce "the unconscionable toll of human life on the highways."

The President's manifesto called for a four-fold consumers' bill of rights: "the right to safety, the right to be informed, the right to choose, the right to be heard."

Some of the detail furnished under these "rights" is so open-ended or so ambiguous as to invite bureaucratic boondoggling. The "right to be heard", for example, includes assurance that "consumer interests will receive full and sympathetic consideration in the formulation of government policy." But precisely what are "consumer interests"? The consumer, after all, is interested in everything.

Fun for Boondogglers

The "right to choose" includes assurance of "wherever possible, access to a variety of products and services at competitive prices," or "satisfactory quality and service" in those industries where competition is not "workable" and government regulation is substituted. But how much variety qualifies for a "variety" of products and services? Three brands? Four? And when does competition become no longer "workable"?

The "right to be informed" means to be informed against "fraudulent, deceitful or grossly misleading" advertising or information. And the consumer must be given "facts" needed to make an "informed" choice. But just what "facts" would make a choice "informed"? The engineering specification of a clothespin perhaps? The organic composition of the contents of a can of peaches? And by what standards does advertising become deceitful or grossly misleading? Perhaps when it's shown that the beer that made Milwaukee famous really didn't, or when the girl who clears up her halitosis problem still remains a bridesmaid?

Finally, the "right to safety" involves protection "against the marketing of goods which are hazardous to health or life." You could cover a lot of ground with such license. Alcoholic beverages, for instance, could again be declared off-limits.

The President's size-up of the American consumer is rather far removed from John Wanamaker's "the customer is always right." But the rhetoric of politics does not allow an impolitic statement that the customer is frequently wrong; after all, consumers do vote. So Mrs. Housewife is excused for her insufficiency as a shopper; the President blames instead American technology, industry and commerce for being too prolific, for increasing shopping "difficulties." What difficulties? Well, explained the President, the typical supermarket before World War II stocked 1,500 separate food items, while today it carries over 6,000. Mr. Kennedy evidently hadn't noticed that the quadrupling of supermaket items has not made selection more complex but more convenient inasmuch as special needs are more nearly accommodated and fewer selection compromises are necessary. The President might also have noted that the multiplication of items is in response to demand for one-stop, one-roof shopping.

As part of his overall consumer message, Mr. Kennedy suggested a law requiring "reasonable advance notice" to the Antitrust Division of an impending business merger "expected to result in a firm of substantial size." And he wanted new powers for the Federal Trade Commission, in particular the power "to issue temporary cease-and-desist orders against the continuance of unfair competitive practices while cases concerned with permanent relief from such practices are pending before the Commission."

Give the FTC this power and the accused business would be denied its

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day in court. The FTC would act as both prosecutor and judge. An Administration bill introduced in the last session of Congress provides that the FTC injunction, in cases of this sort, could not be appealed. Under the guise of protecting the consumer, the Administration seeks, in fact, to abolish some of the more basic legal rights of the businessman.

Does the Administration have a true understanding of the consumer's role in the economy? The consumer in a market economy is high man; he has the power of the purse; he "determines" the product, and who will sell and produce it. Wall Street, Main Street, Detroit and Madison Avenue between them could not force the Edsel on the unimpressed consumer. It was the American housewife, economically speaking, who killed the iceman—when she decided to switch to electric or gas refrigeration. She has the oligopolistic A&P at her mercy—simply because she can walk out of the Hartfords' emporium and head for the nearest competitor. The marketplace is economic democracy in action, where consumers vote every day and candidates run scared all the time.

One other angle of the Kennedy picture of the gullible consumer deserves mention. If the consumer is so naive that "he usually does not know"—the words are the President's—"whether the 'large economy size' is really a bargain," then how can the same consumer in his citizenship role deal with the great social, political, and economic issues of the sixties and cast an intelligent ballot? In short, if Mr. Kennedy downgrades consumer intelligence in the marketplace, he inadvertently downgrades citizen intelligence in the polling booth, for choosing among candidates, parties, platforms, and principles is surely tougher than choosing between Tide and Rinso Blue.

The Big Consumer

Overlooked too is the fact that the consumer is not only the little man but the big man as well: AT&T, GE, DuPont, and Sears Roebuck, all are consumers, of everything from paperclips to office buildings. In a way, the big consumer helps the little consumer by setting high standards for goods that serve as both capital and consumer foods. So Hertz goes into much the same auto market (for fleet cars) as does the individual consumer; and General Motors goes into much the same market for original equipment tires as the individual consumer for replacement tires.

To be sure, this does not mean that the consumer, on occasion, can't be taken. A lot of what is wrong with Hollywood, TV, Broadway, novels, and excess of chrome and horsepower in the automotive industry, can be traced to what W. D. Hutt once called "consumer sovereignty"—to giving the consumer precisely what he demands.

Dr. Galbraith's target, the "mauve and cerise" car *is* unesthetic. Tailfins *are* "waste." But before CAC overhauls our tastes, advertising, labeling, and packaging, maybe it ought

first to prove itself by attacking waste and phony appeals from government, beginning with campaign oratory. CAC ought to take to heart the shrewd observation of former FTC Commissioner Lowell Mason, who wrote in his *Language of Dissent*: "We are not guardians *ad litem* to the Mortimer Snerds who can read but won't, who don't have to sign contracts but do."

What established manufacturer in his right mind would risk his reputation with a product which he knew to be a lemon? Repeat business is essential to modern business; reputation and image must be preserved. Besides the manufacturer's own testing laboratories, there are also industry testing laboratories. Sears, J.C. Penney, Macy's, and other retailers also test the consumer products they sell. Better Business Bureaus deal with the bilkers and gyp artists. And private consumer goods research organizations like Consumers Union regularly test, rate, and report on virtually every new consumer good coming on the market. Failing all this, the consumer can always go to the District Attorney or his own lawyer and institute a suit against the product misrepresenter.

Thanks But No Thanks

Perhaps the greatest irony in the President's attempt to protect the consumer from the evil businessmen is that the consumer's main problem is not with business at all. It is with government, the very entity now seeking to "protect" the consumer. Much of the economic effort of the U.S. Government represents a gigantic "flight from the market." For "social objectives," the government fixes milk prices, controls rents, props cotton, pays farmers not to farm, inflates the currency, forbids mergers, encourages "fair trade" pricing at the retail level, restricts oil imports, participates in an international coffee cartel, raises wages by fiat, exempts unions from antitrust laws, sets railroad, bus, truck, and airline rates, and manipulates the economy in a thousand and one other ways.

The protected consumer might ask CAC just who the Justice Department was attempting to protect when it tried to force General Electric in a proposed consent decree last year not to charge "unreasonably low prices." The government's labor laws, which confer powerful monopoly privileges on the trade union movement, unquestionably raise the price of all consumer goods, from pencils to autos, from handkerchiefs to houses. In the last analysis it is the consumer who pays wages, not the employer or stockholder. Strikes are not so much against management as against the consumer.

Charles H. Brower, President of BBD&O, may have the last word in this public-private dialogue on consumer protection, in particular on mislabeling. He has asked Congress to look into one "flagrant example of mislabeling"—the U.S. dollar. "It is most surely slackfilled and mislabeled, and its contents constantly change without being reflected in the label at all. . . . Of what use is it to see that the consumer gets her money's worth, when [no one] knows what her money is worth?"

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Special Report

Organized Labor and the Negro Worker

MYRNA BAIN

At the 1959 AFL-CIO national convention held in San Francisco, Negro unionist A. Philip Randolph presented a resolution calling for the expulsion of two railway unions unless they removed "white only" clauses from their constitutions by a specified date. The response was given by George Meany when he asked, "Who the hell appointed you guardian of all the Negroes in America?" A little less than a year later, 10,000 Negro unionists answered Meany by forming the Negro American Labor Council.

The NALC has many stated goals for the future. But all its maneuverings within and without the labor movement in the last two years have centered around Randolph's belief that trade unions "are essentially urban organizations and since Negroes have been moving to the cities in ever increasing numbers, it only follows then, that labor's future is tied up with the future of the Negro."

But labor's future is also tied up with the problems of union corruption, growing dissatisfaction with too many long and costly strikes, and a dwindling supply of new members. As far as the leadership of the AFL-CIO is concerned, more harm can be done to labor's socio-political stance by some of these problems than job discrimination or segregation of the Negro in any of the major unions of the country.

Since 1940 the Negro population of New York City has increased nearly two and one-half times, to 1,100,000, or more than 14 per cent of the city's population. In Philadelphia, Negroes have doubled in number since 1940 to 529,000, or 26 per cent. The Negro population of Detroit has more than tripled to nearly 500,000, or 29 per cent of the city's population. And the Negro population of Los Angeles County has jumped sixfold since 1940, from 75,000 to 464,000. This vast internal migration from the rural South to the industrial North has been taking place for many reasons, but the principal reason has been employment opportunity.

During the 1940-45 period the hope and the reality of this thinking were sustained. The "open recruitment" policy offered tens of thousands of Negroes employment in steel, automobile, rubber and packinghouse plants.

But the war has been over twenty years now, and instead of more Negroes joining labor unions, fewer are doing so; for the Negro, increased unionization has in too many instances meant decreased job opportunity.

Pattern of Segregation

When the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers became the collective bargaining agent at the Bauer Electric Company in Hartford, Connecticut in the late forties, the union demanded and got the removal of all Negro electricians from their jobs. The excuse was advanced that, since their union contract specified "whites only," they could not and would not change this to provide continued employment for the Negroes who were at the plant before the union was recognized. Similar cases can be found in the Boilermakers' Union and the International Association of Machinists at the Boeing Aircraft Company plant in Seattle.

Occasionally (after pressure from the NAACP, the Urban League or the Federal Government), a major union will hire one or two Negroes for an apprenticeship program, or promote a Negro who is already "on hand" to a local chapter. But if the larger Negro organizations scream "tokenism" at Southerners over school integration—the fact remains that there are still more children attending integrated schools in the South today than parents working and belonging to integrated unions.

The pattern of segregation pervades all quarters of the country and all areas of life, taking one form here and another there. Yet it is almost impossible for anyone not either a Negro union member or an avid newspaper reader, to find more than a slight hint of this new development in the house of labor. No Liberal journal protested any of the discriminatory practices seen by Herbert Hill, labor secretary for the NAACP, when he testified last summer against David Dubinsky's heavy-handed discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans employed in the garment center.

As things are today, no Negro boy attending high school (integrated or segregated) need learn the printer's trade, plumbing, bricklaying or electrical work, because after school he will have no chance of joining any major union. As a result, today, wherever there are unemployed people, the average proportion of Negroes seeking jobs is 13.8 per cent, while only 7 per cent of the whites are out of work.

Many proposals have been tendered lately to correct this abuse but the weapons at hand are all administered either by state or federal bureaucracies which seem to have no intention of upsetting the very foundation (*e.g.*, unions) of their power.

In fact, A. Philip Randolph has dropped the threat of decertification for any union, local or national, which permits discrimination, against the judgment of many members of the NALC. The effectiveness of executive pronouncements on a situation of this sort is practically nonexistent.

Any appropriate settlement of the question of job discrimination will, of necessity, have to be fought outside the established labor councils. Job discrimination and many another problem plaguing organized labor today result in many cases from a concentration of power in the hands of the small group of men at the top. Until the union rank-and-file wants to do something about this situation, and wants to do it enough to buck its own powerful leaders, Negroes will continue to find it impossible to break into the field in a number of trades. The growth of separatist labor groups such as the Negro American Labor Council is assured under the present ground rules.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Is Going to College Too Expensive?

During the past year, according to the Federal Office of Education, tuition and fees at state universities rose 11 per cent for residents of the state where the universities in question are situated. Costs of tuition and lodging and food have increased annually ever since the Roosevelt Recession, of course. And as the tremendous expansion of state colleges and universities since the Second World War has raised great fiscal problems for state governors and legislators, in several states there has been an effort by state governments to increase tuition so that the students will have to pay a somewhat greater share of the actual cost of their own instruction.

Kirk

In most state institutions, tuition still accounts for only 20 per cent of the cost of instruction. Advocates of increasing the proportion borne by students rarely argue that students should bear the whole actual cost, or even a major part of it: the increases contemplated will amount to only 25 per cent or 30 per cent of the total bill for instruction. With some courage, Governor Rockefeller's administration increased the tuition for students at New York's state colleges; and although the increases were not startling, the howling has been considerable.

Various presidents of state universities have been demanding that the price of tuition be kept low for everybody, in the name of democracy, and that subsidies from state treasuries and (O glorious day!) federal grants be increased to keep tuition bills nominal.

But are the costs of college study really exorbitant? Take my original alma mater, Michigan State, East Lansing. Total costs of tuition, room and board (the great majority of students now being required to live in dormitories) come to $1,110 there today, on the average. When I was a student at MSC (now MSU), the average student scarcely could have managed for less than $400 a year. That was during the Roosevelt Recession years, 1936-40. Well, the purchasing power of the dollar, particularly in lodging and food, has so decreased since the late thirties that the dollar of my student days was worth approximately three times as much as the student's dollar of 1963. So in proportion to the increase of national income and the inflation of the currency, students nowadays have no harder time paying their bills than they had in my time. Indeed, what with the facts that scholarships are far more numerous now per head of student population, that jobs for students are far easier to find and that hard cash is more readily come by than it was then, the student of 1963 has a much simpler task in making ends meet than did the student of my generation.

Not By Bread Alone

Parents confronted with their offspring's demand for more money to defray their terms in the groves of academe at Dismal Swamp A & M, Our Lady of the Sorrows, or Weinberg Secretarial (names I borrow from Dr. Morris Bishop of Cornell University) may find it difficult to give full faith and credit to my assertion that, relatively, college is no more expensive than it was a quarter of a century ago. And it is true that the average student asks for, and gets, much more cash from his parents than he did in my time. For one thing, the cash is now in the parental wallet to be levied upon; in my day, it didn't exist. But here the parent is paying for the frills of college life, not for the tuition, board, and the room. There is no reason why state and federal treasuries should be expected to keep tuition bills nominal, so that little Jean at Behemoth University may have her foreign sports-car—in effect, at public expense.

I agree the costs of attending college should be kept low, if possible. Most of our institutions of higher learning could keep costs much lower than they do, by abandoning the academic boondoggles they now cherish, housing the students less luxuriously and spending less on professional sports.

Dr. Elmer D. West, of the American Council of Education, laments that half of our American families just can't afford to send their sons and daughters to college. In the Affluent Society, this is a curious complaint. Since already we have Soaked the Rich beyond the point of diminishing returns—and President Kennedy now proposes to diminish that soaking—apparently it is not possible, even for the richest of nations, to send everyone to college. Certainly it is not desirable to send to college those who cannot hope to profit from the higher learning.

Yet it remains possible to open the way to college for those genuinely talented, but lacking means. Nor does this have to be done by immense subsidies to state institutions already swollen beyond the point of efficiency and the human scale. The answer is scholarships, both state and private—grants that will permit the student to choose his own college, state or private. Senator Goldwater proposes to establish a number of exemplary "merit scholarships" awarded by the Federal Government, not merely to help the deserving, but—even more important—to aid in the restoration of academic standards; for high schools that graduated many students receiving federal scholarships clearly would be good schools, while those schools which never produced a winner unmistakably would need improvement.

With a sufficient number of state scholarships, tuition might be allowed to rise without much worry about the possible excluding of able young people. And the cost would be far less than that of keeping tuition low simply to make sure that every parent can send his offspring to a low-cost academic country club, at other people's expense.

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Liberals Do Believe in Devils

M. STANTON EVANS

It is an odd circumstance that men who have devoted themselves most adamantly to the principal issue of our times have very bad reputations. In the annals of Congress, for example, what legislators have been more vilified than Joe McCarthy, William Jenner, Pat McCarran, Francis Walter, or Harold Velde? Each of these men has been pre-eminently identified with the cause of anti-Communism, and one by one they have been attacked by the massed voices of Liberaldom as mountebanks, fools and cads. Nor is the case much different in the world of journalism, where the names Hearst, McCormick and Patterson, staunch anti-Communists all, have been made synonymous with bad practice.

This surely is a strange coincidence. The laws of probability would indicate that sooner or later there would emerge, *e.g.*, a chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities who went decently about his business, innocent of secret designs to rule by knout and truncheon; or that somewhere there would be a newspaperman who is an astringent anti-Communist without being simultaneously a maligner of respectable characters. But, on the Liberal presentation, such things have never been and never can be.

So striking an aggregation of knaves on the side of anti-Communist militancy could hardly be fortuitous; it suggests that whoever takes up the cause of unyielding anti-Communism is by virtue of that act defiled, so that however blameless his previous career he necessarily becomes a desperado in his new capacity. The Liberal mind recoils from sleuthing down Communists as such; the central evil is implicit in the enterprise, and charges of "megalomania" (Lewis Strauss), tax evasion (McCarthy), kickbacks (Parnell Thomas), "paranoia" (Edward Teller), and "irresponsibility" (all), are merely details which, true or untrue (usually the latter), serve to amplify the original indictment.

Many of these defamed anti-Communists will in time receive historical restitution; for in any judgment of character which has ideological bias as its chief component, we may suspect errors both in detail and in general perspective. In the coming revaluation, there could be no better starting-place than two men who, by virtue of the duration and the intensity of their public torment, qualify as Lucifer and Beelzebub in the Liberal demonology. These are Martin Dies, who presided over the infant House Un-American Activities Committee, and Westbrook Pegler, the former Scripps-Howard and Hearst newspaperman. Each began his public career as a Liberal, friendly to the New Deal and bemused by the charms of FDR; in the latter 1930's, each suffered a gradual disillusionment with Roosevelt and his works. (The withdrawal phases did not always coincide; on more than one occasion, Pegler lampooned the Dies Committee's investigations.) As their political positions altered, so did their standing in received society. By the end of World War II, each had become a symbol of what nice people ought to be against.

In Martin Dies' case, the revaluation is primarily a matter of detail. Correcting misinformation about congressional probes of Communism is a discipline unto itself. There is no deception too paltry or too absurd for the purposes of Liberal warfare against these investigations, and Dies has been subjected to a long train of episodic misrepresentations about what his Committee did or did not do. The former congressman has undertaken to set some of these matters straight in *Martin Dies' Story*, an autobiographical essay which should be read both as a case study of the inverse ratio of anti-Communism to respectability, and as a corrective for much entrenched falsehood.

Dies begins by recalling his early *éclat* in Washington when he was a New Deal favorite; then recounts the obloquies which were his when it was discovered he intended to take seriously the HUAC chairmanship FDR had thrust upon him. The decline of his reputation can be very precisely dated from his declaration to Roosevelt that Communism was as great a danger to America as was Nazism. From that day forward, accusations, threats, open hostility from the President, and—as a matter of course—a full-scale political purge, were to be his lot. Most characteristically, Dies was to suffer the insistent frustration of seeing the actions and utterances of anti-Communists garbled and obscured by emotional slogans and shouted irrelevancies. In this book he picks his way through some of these, including the crucifixion of anti-Communist educator William Wirt, the famous Shirley Temple incident, faked letters purportedly linking Dies to Silver Shirt leader William Dudley Pelley, the Eleanor Roosevelt-Joe Lash encounter, and other episodes.

Dies' book is a valuable source. (It offers a particularly useful synopsis of the excellent work the Committee did, contrary to present alle-

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Martin Dies' Story, by Martin Dies. **Bookmailer, $5.00**

Pegler: Angry Man of the Press, by **Oliver Pilat. Beacon, $5.00**

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gations, in cracking down on German and Japanese agents immediately prior to and during the Second World War.) It does not, however, constitute the restitution to which Dies is entitled; it is a memoir, fugitive and fragmentary, and as such is a datum which should be incorporated into a complete history of Dies' career and of the Committee he headed.

WESTBROOK PEGLER'S vindication is not, like Dies', a matter of detail, but of general assessment. The episodes in which Pegler was depressingly wrong or exhilaratingly right are all fairly well known. The problem is to add these up, to mix in the other things that matter, and to determine Pegler's place in journalistic history. This is the job undertaken by *New York Post* reporter Oliver Pilat in *Pegler: Angry Man of the Press*. Needless to say, the judgment is not favorable. Pilat's assessment of the great controversialist follows almost exactly the trajectory from approval to disapproval described above. When "Peg" was a New Dealer, his rhetoric was perhaps excessive but generally amusing; it was only as he veered rightward that his manner became unforgivable.

To appreciate Pilat's judgment of the later Pegler, certain assumptions are necessary. One must believe that Krishna Menon is a statesman of mark; that J. Robert Oppenheimer is a great American; that fascism is today a greater threat to America than Communism; and that expressions of opinion *contra* any of these axioms are manifestations of "hate." These are the co-ordinates of Oliver Pilat's universe, and it is in terms of them that Pegler is judged. Pilat charges the columnist with vituperation, cruelty to adversaries, the ruin of careers. Yet it becomes apparent that these allegations are not at the root of the Liberals' antipathy to Pegler. They in fact would celebrate his invective if he had remained one of them, and there is no Peglerian locution they have not accepted when it was used in their behalf.

If Drew Pearson is the embodiment of journalistic virtue, and *if* Eleanor Roosevelt was a wise and wonderful lady, then Pilat's judgment of Pegler is comprehensible. But these judgments are the measure of a disordered cosmos in which all standards have been turned upside down, where friends of liberty are "authoritarians" and worshipers of the state are lovable democrats. It is a cosmos in which an Oliver Pilat can survey the policy which has yielded half the globe to Communism, find it good, and come up with the conclusion that people objecting to it are incipient fascists, more dangerous than the Communists themselves.

In an age when such flights of hallucination are the regular order of business, the services of a Westbrook Pegler are not merely useful—they are a prerequisite of survival. Against the forces of delusion and folly, Pegler has hurled the stentorian force of a loud and unintimidated honesty. He has made his mistakes. But he has never wavered in his commitment to American institutions, or lost touch with the striking virtues of his native idiom.

When so much political and social commentary is devoted to missing the point, or to annihilating and silencing those who happen to see it, Pegler has provided us with something we could not very well have done without. It is therefore likely that, despite Mr. Pilat, his reputation will survive. He has been our Savonarola, our Swift, and our Mencken all in one —the angry voice of sanity and honor in a world which is essentially absurd.

Lloyd George at Close Quarters

SIR SHANE LESLIE

HE WHO WRITES his memoirs last laughs best. Lord Beaverbrook has taken all the going, good or rough, in politics, tried tycoon- or typhoon-ship in the press, survived ministry in two wars, and now writes the history of his time as never writ before.

Modern biographers spend years gathering and garbling the diaries and letters of the dead. They cement their dull bricks with the gossip and guesses of the past. Beaverbrook has no need of such. He has most of the answers and some of the best stories in any portfolio. He has collected the records himself. He saw history as close of quarters as Thucydides, whose impartial balance he lacks. Great journalists die with their papers and die forever. Beaverbrook has found a means of immortality by revealing the secret history intended for future historians.

The Decline and Fall of Lloyd George, by Lord Beaverbrook. Duell, $4.95

To do justice to this book would need a Macaulay expansive and explosive in the big arena of a quarterly. The modern reviewer is only allowed a pair of paragraphs instead of treating himself to a treatise. It is all he can do to pan out the gold dust and leave the pebbles a dead David has slung into the choking sand.

We learn that the stripling who overcame the German Goliath rotted away when awarded all that victory, power and women could give him. In this volume wife Dame Margaret appears only in one footnote, but Miss Stevenson (wife number two) contributes from unpublished diaries most startling tidbits picked up at close range. Lloyd George in his greatness crashed emotionally against the great. He fought bitterly with other Liberals like Winston or McKenna. "Churchill like the oak," he said, "gave warning before crashing." McKenna he likened to the elm: "The branch falls without any notice." McKenna succeeded L. George in the Exchequer but rather too quickly, for he found in his predecessor's last Red Box evidence of "gross treachery and double-dealing"—to which L. G. cried, "He stole my letter."

Lloyd George offered Beaverbrook the High Commissionership to the Scottish Kirk. Beaverbrook declined it, wishing to keep his life of late nights out with the Dolly Sisters, which would be unsuitable to Presbyterian publicity. L. G. decided to give it to the young Duke of Sutherland. Meantime, in Beaverbrook's words, "I went back to the Criterion intending to make the most of my freedom retained by such a high price. And there I found Geordie Sutherland—dancing with one of my Dolly Sisters!" This is as funny as

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Mrs. Greville's political dinner when, noticing the state of her reeling butler, she handed him the note: "You are drunk, leave the room at once." The butler handed this on a silver salver to the pompous Austen Chamberlain while he was addressing the table on Ireland! Scene to be imagined!

L. George in complete power moved top-pieces like a game of chess—sending a Jew, Lord Reading, to rule India, for instance; and another time pledging Hewart the Lord Chief Justiceship, but needing the written "resignation of a caretaker L.C.J." he appointed Judge Lawrence (eighty years old) in defiance of Parliament and Press. There was an amusing sequel. To square Lawrence, he made him a Lord with a pension of £4000 a year, which he enjoyed till he was ninety-two, being then drowned by a big salmon which pulled him into the River Wye. Do such adventures occur to those who sit on the Supreme Bench of the United States?

The Irish Problem reached its last stage largely owing to L. George's insistence. The Irish champion Carson was got out of the way by a peerage and Irish delegates were brought to London, where with much reluctance they signed a treaty which drew Ireland into civil war. L. George's suasions were such that he had drawn an Oath of Allegiance from Michael Collins, who was shot for his pains, and an acceptance of Home Rule from Ulster with possible trial of an all-Ireland Parliament. Field Marshal Wilson took Carson's place as stormy petrel in Belfast and was shot by Sinn Fein extremists, to the relief of moderates on both sides.

BEFORE Lloyd George's career collapsed, like a dying Titan he marked world politics heavily. He relieved America and Australia of the Irish burden which distracted their relations with England. It did not matter twopence whether Ireland became a republic on her own; partition left her hamstrung. More important was L. G.'s power in thwarting Churchill over Russia. Winston would give no hand to the Bolshevists. He had tried to save England's faithful but doomed ally, the Czar. L. G. came to the rescue of Lenin and the Communists when they were not certain of success. Thus England turned the balance in their favor, leaving America to rebalance the colossal situation in the future—that is, today.

Lloyd George: ". . . *in his greatness crashed emotionally against the great.*"

What can one make of all this vivisection of the dead (to use an Irish expression)? Only two figures survive—Winston and L. George—out of scores of the once famous. Very striking are Beaverbrook's comparisons between them at close hand—"Mentally, morally and physically Churchill was of stouter build than L. G. He worked harder and longer than L. G. and he had a wider vision. For countless years he was unable to capture and hold public confidence. He always walked in the shadow of Kingship. He had a group of friends. He held them throughout. L. G. shed his friends like the ermine sheds its winter coat." All the rest, even Curzon and Austen Chamberlain, sound like jackals snarling over the spoil of victory until it turned to carrion at home and abroad.

Lord Beaverbrook promises to expose the fracas about the American debt: "Bonar Law was convinced it would result in disaster—as it did. McKenna and Keynes supported him vigorously. How Bonar Law was trapped and tricked into signing the outrageous debt settlement I hope to write in my next volume." Even so, English political history will not be complete until Miss Stevenson has published her diaries complete.

The Money Puzzle

MELCHIOR PALYI

DESPITE CONTENTIONS that simplistic utopias have reached the end of their rope, the search for a simplistic rule by which to revolutionize the currency is very much alive, with the accent on some vague concept of "stability," or a stabilized rate of progress—as if "progress" or "growth" could be put into the straitjacket of a monetary formula. In the introduction to this provocative and very instructive symposium, the editor points out the "almost perplexing diversity" of monetary nostrums which, admittedly, can be varied and combined at the whim of the social engineers. "Why is it," Mr. Yeager asks, "that even men with broadly similar conceptions of the good (libertarian) society can disagree so profoundly on particular policies?" His answer evades the issue. Actually, utopias may be constructed in an infinite number of ways, one as "legitimate" as the other—if the implicit assumptions are granted: that the public accepts as money any ivory-tower concoction; that the volume of money can be wisely manipulated either arbitrarily or in accordance with some autocratically imposed rule; and that such manipulations would bring about the desirable "stability."

In Search of a Monetary Constitution, edited by Leland B. Yeager. Harvard, $7.50

The one "conservative" contribution is Arthur Kemp's apology for the gold (coin) standard. Unfortunately, it is rich in anecdotes but very short on analysis. Another believer in "hard money" is Murray N. Rothbard, whose "100% Gold Dollar" would have us return to the medieval practice of counting by weight of gold—and of silver. (Why not copper as well?) Such a "parallel" standard of two metals, not to be confused with bimetallism, had been tried before (*e. g.*, in England of the 1690's), and abandoned because of the confusion it generated. It may be workable in—Saudi Arabia, which is

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Rothbard's example. As to the 100% gold (or silver!) reserve for deposits: it means a 90% *de*flation of the money volume. Would capitalism survive such a shock? And what is to be accomplished by eliminating commercial banking—substituting the pawn shops? But at least Rothbard realizes that keeping prices stable is not a function of the gold standard, nor would it be sound economics.

Next in "hardness," if any, comes the commodity-dollar, with two major variants. Encouraged by the alleged stabilizing effects of our (bankrupt) farm price policies, Benjamin Graham proposes a package of arbitrarily selected commodities as a currency reserve to stabilize their prices and, as a by-product, the general price level. To James M. Buchanan, what matters is the "predictability" of the monetary unit's purchasing power. By that criterion, gold would not do: it is not "representative of the production of goods and services over the whole economy." He prefers—the common-brick for an "ideal" standard. What if it is overproduced and rejected by the public? And how predictable is the dollar's external value under such a "standard"?

Pure fiat money is the most suitable instrument for currency revolutions. Irving Fisher's index-standard is announced *ex cathedra* by Willford I. King, paying scant attention to the problems involved. On a higher intellectual plane moves the 100% (fiat) Money School, presented by Clark Warburton, Milton Friedman, George S. Tolley, and (with reservations) by Richard T. Selden. This type of nostrum was popularized by the famous Father Coughlin. Its battle cry is Rule, Not Discretion. Bank deposits should be 100% covered (by fiat money), the money volume to be regulated by the authorities (!) according to a fixed rule. Originally, stability of the price index was to be the guidepost; this has been discarded as impractical. Presently, a 4% or 5% annual increase in the currency supply is to be the law of the land. Never mind either the money substitutes (forbid their use!), and changes in monetary velocity, or the dubious statistics that support the program, and disregard the consequences of fluctuating exchange rates which are a necessary concomitant.

THE authors are libertarians, except that they eliminate the consumer's free choice in money matters, and also the liberty to do legitimate banking business; unwittingly they provide the politicians with total power in such vital matters. As Jacob Viner shows in a devastating review of Friedman's Hundred-Percentism, no money system can dispense with discretionary interventions, if only to set the objectives and the scale of operations. In fact, "the [fixed] rule can be an instrument of tyranny." Viner's point is that definite criteria as well as some degree of flexibility in their application are needed.

But what are Viner's rules? He claims three "major" principles: high-level employment, price level stability, and economic growth, what-

Random Notes

● KULTUR: For National Library Week the North Bellmore (L.I.) Public Library displayed the books that shaped the lives of Col. Glenn, the President, John Steinbeck, Dr. Schweitzer, Marian Anderson, and Picasso. That was the idea, anyway. Miss Anderson proposed the Scriptures; Steinbeck, part of the Scriptures and Marcus Aurelius. Col. Glenn replied that all books are nice. Picasso never opens his mail and Dr. Schweitzer's letter hasn't reached him yet. The President evinced a touching predilection for Establishment biographies of dashing romantic heroes (Lord David Cecil's *Melbourne*, Lord Tweedsmuir's *Montrose*, Sir Winston Churchill's *Marlborough*). He also put in a good word for Ian Fleming.

● KULTUR WITHIN THE SOCIALIST ENLIGHTENMENT: All owners of typewriters must now have a license from the police and must file an example of the machine's typeface before and after repairs. And only promoters of international Communism are allowed to own typewriters.

● MOVIES: We reported last month that *Gone with the Wind* has at last been allowed on Irish screens, and can now add that South Africa has followed suit, but has banned *West Side Story*. . . . Spring 1965 will be a Washington Film Festival, to catch up a little bit with the rest of the world. . . . A Sinclair Lewis and Dore Schary film-script written in 1943 and thought to be too hot to handle (it is an allegorical horse opera disapproving of totalitarianism—one bad guy has a hammer and sickle brand on his cattle and wants to appropriate everybody's grazing land) has been published by Stein & Day ($4.50). *Storm in the West* is the title, and Mr. Schary has contributed an entertaining introduction telling how the script came to be written and how it failed to find its way onto film. . . . John Huston announces plans to film Tennessee Williams' *Night of the Iguana* for Seven Arts. . . . More title trouble: *The Ugly American* may become *Il Buon Americano* in its Italian dubbing, and *To Kill a Mockingbird* can be seen around the Republic under the alternate title, *The Dark beyond the Hedge*.

● BOOKS: Ved Mehta's sly account of the English philosophers and historians that ran in the *New Yorker* recently will be published in June by Little-Atlantic as *Fly and the Fly-Bottle: Encounters with English Intellectuals* ($4.95). . . . Claude Roger-Marx's *Graphic Art of the 19th Century* (McGraw, $6.95) is a fresh survey of a rich field, handsomely illustrated and intelligent of text. . . . McGraw, in collaboration with *Art in America*, has also issued a boxed portfolio of reproductions of the paintings and drawings of Andrew Wyeth, *The Four Seasons* ($45.00). . . . In case you're trying to keep up with the course of writing nowadays, be advised that the first three months of this year saw published 764 works of fiction (437 new works, 327 reprints), 177 books of poetry and drama, 284 works of criticism and literary history, 380 books on religion, 88 books on language and languages. In all, 5,242 titles.

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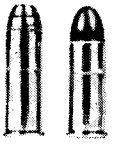

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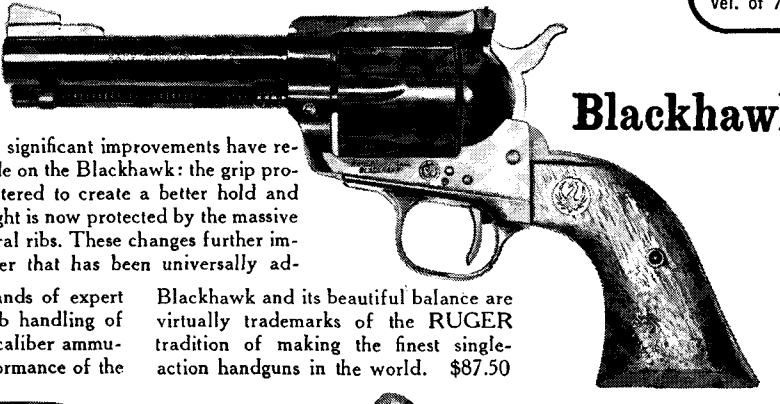

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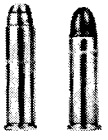

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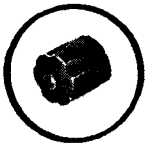

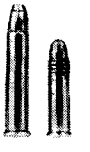

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ever they mean, adding as an afterthought a fourth (and definable) rule, foreign exchange stability. But how are conflicts between one objective and another to be reconciled? Presumably, we should rely on the wisdom of the money managers to resolve the inscrutable — the neo-Keynesian, or Kennedy-an, welfarist recipe. Accordingly, Viner endorses our monetary policies in the 1950's—which have carried the dollar to the "brink."

The break with the gold standard is a common earmark of both the practice of totalitarians and the dream world of money schemers. The former are perfectly logical: gold has no place in an enslaved and autarchistic economy. But how can a "liberal" mind reconcile its philosophy with a monetary program that clips the wings of international trade and finance by mauling rational calculation and disfiguring contracts, which is what a "freely" fluctuating gold price would accomplish? By the criteria of every respectable school of traditional economics—classical, Austrian, or historical, including even G. F. Knapp's "State Theory of Money"—the ideology of divorcing the currency from a fixed gold base, and the credit system from its roots in self-liquidating transactions, is sheer schoolroom calisthenics. *A fortiori*, the authoritarian prohibition of commercial banking is a caricature of laissez faire, a major contribution to compounding the general confusion.

Bulwark of Sovereignty

HOLMES AND HUNTER ALEXANDER

THEY CALLED him Auld Tawm Connally of Texas. He was the last of the string-tie, serpent-tongued senators. He wore his white hair like a mane and his black sombrero like a defiant badge of individualism. As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations under Roosevelt and Truman (he still lives, an invalid, in Washington), Connally was an acknowledged internationalist—all but once.

Ironically, he attained immortality as the author of the famous Connally Amendment or Reservation—to this day the bane of the One Worlders.

Too Grave a Risk: The Connally Amendment, by Denison Kitchel. Introduction by Barry Goldwater. Morrow, $3.75

By inserting six little words—"as determined by the United States"—in a Senate Resolution in 1946, the Senator allowed this nation to preserve its internal and sovereign interests from the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice — a body of feeble, indistinct and sometimes ludicrous nature. His amendment passed the 79th Senate 51-12, and has withstood violent and repeated assaults for repeal. Denison Kitchel, a Phoenix lawyer, tells how and why the Connally Amendment has survived.

The World Court sits in The Hague with fifteen judges. It includes representatives from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland, which are non-complying nations to the Court's authority. Only one judge has had previous judicial experience (one term on a municipal court in Peru). The only American representative is Philip Jessup, rejected in 1951 as our delegate to the United Nations. He was nominated to the Court by a "national committee" and was elected by the Security Council and General Assembly.

Why has the Reservation been such a target? The best answer is a statement in State Department Publication 3972, General Foreign Policy Series 26, September 1950: "There is no longer any real distinction between 'domestic' and 'foreign' affairs." In 1960 the Eisenhower Administration sent Secretary of State Christian Herter and Attorney General William Rogers to testify against the Amendment. The Foreign Relations Committee voted 9-8 for retention. The Democratic Platform of 1960 called for repeal. President Kennedy's Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, wrote Chairman Fulbright on March 15, 1961, asking for repeal on the usual grounds that the Reservation was "self-judging" and that its removal "would greatly assist an important foreign policy aim of this Administration, that of developing and strengthening the rule of law in international relations."

IN POINT of fact, as Mr. Kitchel patiently shows, the Court is a judicial body in name only; there is not, and never has been, such a thing as international law. He quotes Professor Hans J. Morgenthau: "International law is a primitive type of law resembling the kind of law that prevails in certain preliterate societies, such as the Australian aborigines and the Yurok of northern California."

Also quoted here is the late Judge Learned Hand: "There is no 'international law' as yet available and, moreover, the doctrines that pass for such are, as far as I know, to the last degree uncertain."

Yet Hand did favor repeal of the Connally Amendment. In preparing this book, Mr. Kitchel went to great lengths to find out why he did. In their last conversation, shortly before Hand's death, the author asked the Judge if their difference of opinion did not boil down to "our (differing) evaluations of the techniques and objectives of the international Communists." Hand replied: "Yes, I would agree that this is the fundamental basis of our disagreement. I will go along with you on every other point, but I believe that the danger to the very existence of humanity is so great that we must take the chance of being tricked or duped. Perhaps it's because I'm getting too old and too tired. I wish I had the energy to agree with you, but I have not."

But can responsible Americans "take the chance of being tricked or duped"? That is the question on which the Connally Reservation must stand or fall. It is a hard fact that, save for the Reservation, five of the World Court judges (a majority of the nine, which makes up a quorum) could hand down binding decisions upon such American problems as immigration, racial relations, tariffs, changes in the value of currency, possession of the Panama Canal and

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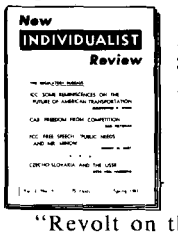
New INDIVIDUALIST Review

Both Mr. Buckley and Mr. Kirk have written for *New Individualist Review*. So have many other distinguished conservatives and libertarians, including Milton Friedman, F. A. Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Wilhelm Roepke, Murray N. Rothbard, and George J. Stigler.

In the current issue, Otto von Habsburg explains why Czechoslovakia has offered no resistance to the Communists since they took over in 1948. *New Individualist Review* also features articles by many of the intellectual leaders of the right-wing "Revolt on the Campus." In this issue three students at the University of Chicago look at three of the federal government's regulatory bureaus – the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the Federal Communications Commission–and suggest that *fewer* government regulations and subsidies are needed, not *more*.



★★★★★★★★★★★★★

SUBSCRIPTIONS: $2.00 a year—four copies ($1.00 for students). Sample copy 35¢.

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the Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba.

Mr. Kitchel's conclusion:

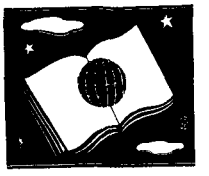
"The retention of the Connally Amendment—the guarding of our national sovereignty ourselves rather than placing it in the hands of the World Court for safekeeping—is essential to the ultimate victory of freedom in the present struggle. For the United States to take any other course of action would involve *too grave a risk*."

Men and Ideas

Teilhard's Collectivist Salvation

THOMAS MOLNAR

TEILHARD DE CHARDIN'S works appear to some to lend Catholic thinking a new respectability in intellectual, progressive, even Marxist circles. Why not take advantage of this windfall, some churchmen seem to argue; while Teilhard's writings are not exactly orthodox, they show a sincere attempt to reconcile religion and science, theology and evolution, the Church and our so-called changing, revolutionary world. Then there are beneficial side-effects: rapprochement with the Protestants, curiosity on the part of agnostics and a measure of favor with the Communists who have been making flattering comparisons between Teilhard and Friedrich Engels himself in the interpretation of the "dialectics of nature."



Despite the Curia's warning to readers of *The Divine Milieu, The Phenomenon of Man* and Teilhard's other volumes, the Church, with one eye on possible concordats with some satellite governments and the other on the *apertura a sinistra* in Italy and on those of her sons who clamor for internal changes and for softness outside, cannot be expected to denounce these works unequivocally as ambiguous, anti-rational, slippery, and seductive of the naive.

TO TIE theology to a controversial science is doubly dangerous: scientific theories become dated fast, and man, deprived of the certitudes of his faith by a changing theology, plunges into sentimentality and into what Ronald Knox has called "enthusiasm." There is at present among well-meaning but "enthusiastic" Catholics a hope that the Church may shed her legal and intellectual armature, and return to the pristine purity of love, charity, and apostolic brotherhood. There is no contradiction, of course, between the teaching of love and the desire of man to understand intellectually the God he adores and in Whose name he loves his fellow creatures. But the enthusiasts argue that this is the time—One World under threat of annihilation, progress spreading to all continents, democratic equality firing the imagination—to bring Rome into harmony with the emerging world, to put aside Constantine's heavy heritage of temporal power, to assimilate what is best in other systems.

Teilhard does not explicitly preach accommodation with any collectivist world view, let alone with Marxism; his writings, however, with their vagueness, their forced and empty neologisms, their unwarranted comparisons and *non sequiturs*, become a fertile ground for the untutored mind which takes easy nourishment from emotion, allusive style and poetic language, confusing these with substantial speculation and rational analysis.

In Teilhard's system God is tied to the evolution of matter. (Even the agnostic biologist Jean Rostand holds that natural evolution may create bizarre forms, but in no sense a sustained progress.) God could not create life—and later, man—without the material preconditions being ready; similarly, He cannot save us until mankind's moral condition reaches the dizzy heights of the Noösphere. "Noösphere" is Teilhard's term for a morally and intellectually united and improved world, waiting for further "centration" in Point Omega at the end of evolution when "superhumanity" meets the "Super-Christ." It is then no exaggeration to say that for Teilhard God *is not* but only *becomes*, grows, as it were, with His own creation. In other words, He

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is a non-rational God, partly aloof from man's difficulties, partly powerless and misleading. The heretic and the enthusiast sooner or later identify such a God with some entity they grasp better: Nature, Evolution, History. In the name of an *evolving* God, or a pan-Theos, or a God equated with the Absolute Spirit unraveled in history, every personal experience is exalted as an increase in goodness and consciousness, and every hallucination as an interpretation of the Divine Will. Once the rational standard is eliminated, the idea of a personal God is discarded, too. To a God identified with Nature, etc., there corresponds the concept of collective salvation or collective perdition.

The direction of Teilhard's thinking is, indeed, confidence in the collectivization of mankind. He speaks of "phyletic effort," of "totalization," and, in *The Future of Man Seen by a Paleontologist*, he views the not yet completely socialized man as a lower form of evolution. The fundamental choice, he says, will not be that of the individual but that of the "human mass." In *The Divine Milieu* he uses quasi-Marxian language as he describes man's alienation and his frustration that his "cries find no echo." (This is the atheistic, existentialist language of Sartre and Camus.)

There are numerous texts in his works where, as in *Notes for Progress*, the Second Coming is predicated on the coalescing of individual men in one Whole, and of individual consciences in one "cosmic conscience." Thus we are caught up in a "super-evolution," tending towards a "super-organism in which individual thought . . . becomes unanimous thought . . . at the phase of socialization." Only at this point in the evolution of a "superhumanity" may the "Super-Christ" finally emerge.

TEILHARD DE CHARDIN, the enthusiast, saw everywhere signs of incipient collectivization which made him confident of the future. He calculated that in a "few hundred thousand years" we will have made enormous steps towards an "enlarged consciousness," which he visualized as a kind of globally organized and permanent scientific research project. Like all "enthusiastic" doctrines, whether the Albigensian heresy, Anabaptism, or the modern variants, "Christified evolutionism" exalts the individual's "unique experiences" without benefit of rational norms. This finds a favorable echo among Deweyites, Freudians, and other irrationalists. It is obvious that to this tribe the *political principle* of rational organization and control is repulsive. Yet when the irrationalists are confronted with the imperatives of social existence, they resort to the most brutal means and reserve the right to have "unique experiences," and to interpret them, to a privileged elite. In the end they inevitably confuse the domain of God and that of Caesar. The most beastly despotisms on earth have been erected by enthusiasts and utopians. It is to them that Teilhard brings a kind of new gospel when he reassures them that progress may be lived as an experience of biological-moral evolution and religious exaltation. Nothing in his system is considered evil except past evolutionary forms and the individual's reluctance to accept "totalization." Evolution for Teilhard, like History for Marx, brings automatic collective salvation; and God will emerge together with Super-Mankind, or perhaps as one with it.

Theater

WGOD

FRANCIS RUSSELL

MUSIC at Midnight is the Moral Rearmament play now touring the country, and its message is that of Frank Buchman *d'outre mer*. If you have a problem, if the world has problems, try two minutes' quiet time, tune out your own brain waves, and you will get the divine multiplex broadcast. Every hour on the hour—just keep tuned to Station WGOD. Long ago a quiet time taught me, at least, that Buchmanism was the opiate of F. Russell. That mid-week matinee of MRA renewed the lesson.

The beans-and-cod quatrain about the Lowells and the Cabots needs an additional verse, to judge by the "Boston citizens" listed in the program as sponsoring *Music at Midnight*, for the God-conversant Cabots (four) and the Lowells (two) are now on the same party line with Senator Edward M. Kennedy. In the peaceable kingdom that Frank Buchman left behind him, the John Birchers lie down with the New Frontier, to be joined in pasture by the consuls of Germany and France among the assorted others. The recipe for this Secular Front embraces a Gilbertesque selection of names: Shattuck and Sullivan, Adams and O'Keefe, Bigelow and Berenson, Christian Herter and the Very Reverend Michael Walsh, S. J.

Most puzzling to me was what the Society of Jesus was doing in the MRA galley. In my younger years I had been awed by the concept of Jesuit urbanity, though this was somewhat shaken after a second cousin once removed joined the Society and I noticed his syntax trouble. Still, difficulties with *shall/will* and *like/as* scarcely suggest Buchmanism. My mother's grandmother was Matilda Southwell, like all that small tribe somehow related to the Blessed Robert Southwell, S. J. As I sat with the Secular Front at the Wilbur waiting for the curtain to go up, while the orchestra played "The Best Things in Life Are Free," I couldn't help but feel that Father Walsh had let the family down.

Music at Midnight is a Buchmanite *collage* apparently inspired by the Hungarian revolt of 1956. It opens in the capital city of an "occupied country." A father and daughter with infant wait in a shabby apartment for the arrival of the tanks of the Chief Marshal that are coming to crush the revolt. To the accompaniment of offstage gunfire, and for reasons I could not fathom, the father keeps pacing the floor with an M-1 rifle in his hand while he recalls his unfaithfulness to his late wife who had known Frank Buchman when the latter was a YMCA secretary in western Pennsylvania.

Toward the end of the act a belligerently beefy young man bursts into the room. I took him for the TV repair man, but he turns out to be

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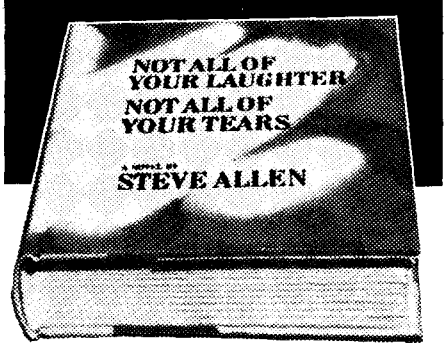
A surprising new novel by STEVE ALLEN



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"When Allen comes off as a novelist, and he often does—he does something that reminds one astonishingly of Graham Greene (in 'The End of the Affair')—he's that good."—MARTIN BURKE, SAN FRANCISCO NEWS-CALL BULLETIN

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Nils, the son of the family and also the heroic leader of the collapsing underground. With him is the ambassador of an unspecified country, presumably England. At once they turn on the radio to listen to the broadcast about the revolt by unspecified country's Prime Minister. The broadcast is a string of platitudes, although within the framework of the play it is hard to determine whether the author intended them as such or not. Then the ambassador announces that he is leaving for home at once and that he has room in his plane for one extra person. Obviously the choice falls on Lena, but Lena has learned a thing or two from her mother. After holding up a warning hand she lapses into a quiet time on the divine wave-length. Almost at once the message comes through from WGOD that Nils is the one to go since he is the only person capable of converting the Prime Minister. After manly but futile protest, he goes. All very clear.

I must admit I found the second act harder to sort out. Nils stomps into the Prime Minister's office and at one point has to be restrained from punching the Prime on the nose. Then he goes off to Rossi's with the Prime's wife and son to eat roast duck, his appetite apparently unimpaired by the occasional thought that his relatives are perhaps being liquidated at that very moment. I neglected to add that the Prime's son hates his father and secretly writes articles against him for the opposition press. There is also a newspaper proprietor with the unlikely name of Southstream who keeps flowing off and on stage in a jacket with a scarlet silk lining and sleeves that are too short. With the exception of Nils, the cast gives the impression of having been recruited from some South Kensington home for elderly actors, and they romp through their parts with the zest of a shuffleboard team in St. Petersburg.

After the roast ducks have been reduced to skeletons at Rossi's, the Prime's wife—who wears an extraordinary hat made of rose petals—suggests that they tune in on WGOD while they are waiting for coffee. Meanwhile the Prime, too fearful of starting an atomic war to take any positive action, is preparing another hot-air TV speech. Eventually, of course, he is persuaded by his wife and Nils to listen to WGOD. In the

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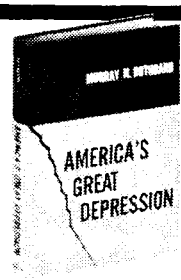

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by Clarence B. Carson

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The return trip? First, one must understand the ideology of freedom; this book helps to supply that, too.

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immortal Buchman phrase, he becomes "changed." He junks his prepared speech for that evening, his wife assuring him that when the time comes he will be told what to say. (Music at midnight. Get it?)

Nils, by ways unspecified, has got back to his occupied country. The others in the apartment have so far escaped liquidation, but his arrival is followed almost at once by that of an officer of the Chief Marshal coming to arrest him. It all works out in the last few minutes—just how I am not certain, but it does. Overseas the Prime and his son become reconciled. The arresting captain turns out to be the embittered son of the Chief Marshal. He is soon convinced that Nils' metaphysical transistor has the answer. "There is something there," he remarks, squaring his jaw. "I've never seen it before. I've got to know what it is." In the end he, Nils and the relatives (including the baby) troop off to the Chief Marshal to persuade him to stop jamming Station WGOD. As my old friend Father Divine used to remark: "Peace, it's wonderful!"

BOOKS IN BRIEF

JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY, A MODERN SELECTION, edited by E. L. McAdam Jr. and George Milne (Pantheon, $6.50). The editors assure us that a reprint of the complete Dictionary—out of print for a hundred years—would be "impressive and unread." So they compile a Johnson's Dictionary for those unwilling to read Johnson's Dictionary—a word book for logophobes. It is not surprising that this becomes, in effect, a larger version of those Johnsonian selections one encounters in bedside books. The quaint, the witty, the antiquated definitions are given in bits and snatches. The illustrative citations from literature, carefully chosen by Johnson to give the flavor of each word, are haphazardly included. To lose the order and gradation of meanings supplied under a word in Johnson's original volume is to lose, often, an argument, an essay, a traced *rhythm* of ideas emanating from a word. The same precision and *pacing* found in the statement of single meanings ("apparatus: things provided as means to any certain end, as the tools of a trade; the furniture of a house; ammunition for war; equipage; show") can be felt in the linking of sixteen definitions and twenty-five illustrations under the word "answer." But these are pleasures not to be had from the McAdam-Milne grab bag, which not only revives the discredited vaudevillian approach to Johnson as Trained Bear, but perhaps puts further off the day when—for those who have not forgotten how to read and think—the whole Dictionary will once more be made available.

G. WILLS

THE SECOND STONE: A LOVE STORY, by Leslie A. Fiedler (Stein and Day, $5.95). The author of *Love and Death in the American Novel* has decided to rewrite *The Marble Faun* from, presumably, an enlightened point of view. The result is a parody of such underhanded symbolic business that nobody but a graduate student desperate for a term-paper topic will make much of the allusions. Scratch the text anywhere and a dandruff of symbols falls out. The characters, for instance, are Hilda, Mark, and Clemens. Hilda is Mrs. Stone and the setting is a Roman spring. The prose requires patience and a ward attendant's stomach to read, quite apart from its allusive eczema. The story opens with vomit and closes with a drunk crowing; in between rages a great deal of pointless conversation and confusion. For all this, however (if you can kick free of the leg pulling), Prof. Fiedler does seem to be hopping mad about something interesting. The civilization which produced his deplorable characters is not one that a prophet can contemplate without planning a major work of redemption, or a saint scrutinize without hysterics. If Hawthorne and his neurotic furtiveness need the mature emendation of unblushing sophistication, it is discouraging to imagine what scourge will be sent us next, to emend Prof. Fiedler.

G. DAVENPORT

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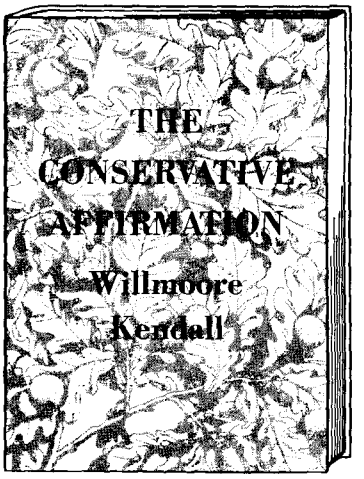

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To the Editor

The Big Giveaway

Rep. Passman's article [May 21] was one of the best articles to appear in NATIONAL REVIEW in a long time. It is fortunate for Internal Revenue that you didn't run it at income tax time: you might have been jailed for inciting a revolt!

St. Louis, Mo. J. A. BURTON

Amicus Garrii

Attend! Here is the best piece of constructive advice for your magazine that you are ever going to get. Why don't you spirit Garry Wills away from whatever he's doing, give Natalie [Mrs. Wills] exclusive care of the offspring, chain him to a typewriter, load him with benzedrine so he can keep going 24 hours a day, pay him ten times his present salary, retire all your other reviewers, and let him analyze and report on every book that comes across your desk.

His essay on James Baldwin [May 21] is magnificent.

Manchester, Conn. SIMON RODD

The Church and Communism

Both Messrs Herberg and Burnham have written perceptively — if too kindly—on *Pacem in Terris* [May 7, 1963]. Particularly interesting is Mr. Burnham's speculation that the leftward drift of the encyclical may be due either to Papal naiveté or to a calculation of a projected Communist triumph. The latter alternative suggests the disturbing question, whether there *might* be any relationship between the non-disclosure in 1960 of the Fatima message and the increasingly notable softening of Vatican opposition to certain Soviet designs.

That John XXIII is a good and a holy man seems to bear of little dispute. But surely it would be a source of less discomfort to American Catholics if he would begin to demonstrate, in the practical order, a higher degree of that awareness of the intrinsically evil nature of world Communism that distinguished the reign of his scholarly and saintly predecessor.

It is, by the way, good to see Mr. Herberg's writings back in *NR* again.

Chicago, Ill. THOMAS F. MAHONEY JR.

I am surprised that Mr. Herberg accepted [May 7] the Pope's three "distinctive characteristics" as being "indeed among the characteristics of our time," and objected only to the omission of modern totalitarianism.

The third so-called characteristic, that "all nations have either achieved or are on their way to achieving, independence" is not even true. The list of nations which have lost or are losing their independence denies this "characteristic" many times over —even if the patently incorrect word "all" were omitted. From Latvia to Bulgaria, from Tibet to Cuba, you could name two dozen.

The only nations achieving their independence are those originally under Western domination. No nation under Communist domination is achieving a whit of independence, and many of those which have achieved (or been given) independence from the West are being conquered, subverted, pushed or ensnared into a far worse subjection.

I think the Church's vineyard is in men's souls, and that the legitimate purpose of "Christian Social Concerns" is to create individual concern, not collective strategy. Would I be accused of narrowness if I suggested that the Church really disparages genuine religion by every such dilution of their true focus?

The dilution is damaging even when it turns out to be right; for it detracts from the spiritual and necessarily individual essence of religion. But when the dilution turns out to be wrong, it demoralizes completely, as will this part of the encyclical demoralize all Communist-captive Catholics who are unfortunate enough to read it.

Odessa, Fla. JANE ELLIGETT

It seems the Pope has fallen into the familiar pattern of thinking of Soviet Communism as of an honest "God-fearing" society, and that an agreement was arrived at with a recognition of the good faith of each. Mutual *respectability* was understood or implied. In other words the two Realms, that of the purely physical, and that which claimed to be purely spiritual, decided to divide the world between them.

The article by Kuehnelt-Leddihn on this subject [April 23] certainly doesn't enlighten—it confuses the issue. To quote: "It only means that an agreement has been reached as to the rules, by-laws and regulations of an intellectual and spiritual warfare with a certain disengagement in the political sphere." Of course everyone should know that an agreement with atheistic Communism is no agreement at all. In effect it is a *complete surrender* to the forces of this evil institution. The blind and ignorant followers of the Church (there are many such) are freed from whatever moral or spiritual inhibitions against voting for Communism. The result was felt first in Italy itself where the Communist Party is

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the strongest of any in the Western bloc of free states. In Latin America, where the Pope exerts a virtual monopoly of religious influence, it will tend to weaken the forces of the West who have dedicated themselves to winning this struggle.

San Diego, Cal. RAYMOND J. FLANDERS

As Frank S. Meyer points out so lucidly [May 21], *Pacem in Terris* virtually scuttles *Divini Redemptoris*, the strong anti-Communist encyclical written by Pius XI in 1937. The rule laid down by Pius XI, and followed by Pius XII, was nothing more than elementary logic — Christianity cannot compromise or bargain with its absolute antithesis.

Understandable reverence for the Papal office probably motivates those conservatives, especially that doughty little band remaining in what is euphemistically called the "Catholic Press," who are trying desperately to reconcile the Vatican's present posture *vis-à-vis* Communism with the stand of Pius XI and Pius XII. It is futile and cannot be accomplished within the limits of intellectual honesty. Let us face the facts. Encyclicals are not issued in vacuums. They have a definite nexus to the real world outside. Why, at this crucial juncture in the struggle between Christian civilization and Communism, was this strange document issued? Why, on the eve of the critical elections in Italy, did the Holy Father cordially receive the Adzhubeis? Why is pressure being put on the heroic Cardinal Mindszenty, a living symbol of hope to so many behind the Iron Curtain, to leave Hungary?

Garden City, N.Y. EDWARD F. CUMMERFORD

Agents Provocateurs

William Buckley's article, "Birmingham and After" [May 21], reminded me of a time when three of us were in the country around Birmingham organizing Negro sharecroppers for the Communist Party. We traveled from one section of the country to another, and stayed overnight in the homes of the sharecroppers, wherever a meeting had been scheduled.

One evening, when the meeting was just beginning, the sentinel who had been placed outside the house came in and reported that the sheriff of the county and two deputies were patrolling on the road outside.

The Party functionary, who was one

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of the three of us taking part in the meetings, turned to me and ordered me to go out on the road and slap the sheriff's face. The idea was to make the sheriff so angry he would lose his head and a riot would be started. The Party functionary promised me that I would then find myself a heroine in the North, with my picture in all the Northern papers.

I don't know what the circumstances were behind the tragic murder of postman William Moore, but I do think, if we are realistic at all, we should consider very seriously that the Communists do not always stop at an order to go out and slap a sheriff's face. They may also resort to murder. Anything for a riot.

Mount Vernon, N.Y. GRACE LUMPKIN

Apertura a Sinistra

The sad fact which many Americans are reluctant to face is that Italians are headed Left. Despite Alice Leone-Moats' encomium [May 21] to the success of the Liberal Party, the fact remains that rightist parties fared rather poorly, with the neo-Fascists and Monarchists together accounting for only two million votes. The whole Right in Italy gleaned less than five million votes out of 33 million cast. With that many voters approving the Left, you see why Fanfani wanted the *apertura*.

Lancaster, Pa. VINCENT R. TORTORA

The Leftist Clique

I am impelled to call your attention to an inaccuracy in the article by James Burnham [May 7].

On Page 357, my name is included among "the ADA membership." The fact is that I attended the organization meeting of ADA in January 1947, but in the ensuing fifteen years I have attended no meetings, paid no dues, and taken no part whatsoever in the activities of the organization. Though I am in sympathy with some of the aspects of the ADA program, I do not feel that in recent years it has served a useful purpose in the way that was contemplated at its inception.

BARRY BINGHAM
Editor and Publisher
Louisville, Ky. *The Courier-Journal*

As a corollary to James Burnham's meticulous dissection of ADA, it might be argued that this ubiquitous body should be officially incorporated as an integral component of the Potomac Fusiliers.

Furthermore, in view of its incomprehensible identification with the policies and objectives of Soviet Russia (has ADA ever explained this anomaly?), those beyond the perimeter of this paradoxical microcosm should be forgiven if, on the basis of its program, they invest its code letters with a more meaningful interpretation as an "Agency for the Denigration of America."

St. Petersburg, Fla. ROBERT A. WRIGHT

Didion Fan

Re Guy Davenport's toe-dance around Joan Didion's brilliant *Run River* [May 7]: save the non-reviews for the non-books.

New York, N.Y. CHARLES K. RAMOND

Us'n the Worker

Two perfect illustrations of the *Baltimore Sun*'s value to the Liberal cause occurred in the same issue, the Sunday *Sun* of April 7. There we have its current cartoonist depicting the ghost of the "hysteria" of the early fifties (together with a witch riding by on a broom) affrightedly leaving the national scene, crying, "I guess we goofed nine years ago" because the AEC, which in "1954 brands Oppenheimer 'Security Risk'" in 1963 gives Oppenheimer the $50,000 Fermi Award.

We also have in that same issue its current columnist Thomas O'Neill, writing in the same spot as the great Frank R. Kent, in one of his routine but increasingly bitter attacks on conservatives, saying that the two foremost publications speaking for conservatism, "NATIONAL REVIEW and *Human Events* . . . [are] . . . both . . . passing the hat for contributions to keep them above water, a tactic made familiar by the Communist publication, the *Worker*." NATIONAL REVIEW should also be advised of a secret, through Mr. O'Neill, on May 1, that the "present Wyoming legislation is under covert John Birch Society control."

The point of this: that somehow, in some way not yet apparent, the true nature of the Liberal press—the *Sun* is just one example—must be laid bare before the millions of untutored readers who go nowhere else than to the daily press to read their news and form their views.

It is a gigantic, perhaps insuperable, task to present another viewpoint to anything like the number of people who are influenced by the *Sun*, the

Speaking Up • • •

Ernest van den Haag, a practicing psychoanalyst as well as a scholar and a writer, will accept invitations now to lecture and debate around the country next fall. A professor of social philosophy at New York University and lecturer at the New School for Social Research, Dr. van den Haag has written and contributed to five books and has written for Harper's, Partisan Review, Commentary, Commonweal, and National Review.

Your university or club can also write now for openings in the fall schedules of our other speakers: L. Brent Bozell, attorney, Washington correspondent for National Review; Willmoore Kendall, Rhodes scholar, educator, author; Miguel Kohly, expert in the field of inter-American relations; Frank S. Meyer, author of *In Defense Of Freedom: A Conservative Credo*; Thomas Molnar, writer and spokesman for the conservative position; Russell Kirk, syndicated columnist, editor, professor of politics; Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddhin, humanist and lecturer; Wm. F. Buckley Jr., editor of National Review and best-selling author of *Rumbles Left and Right;* and Wm. A. Rusher, publisher of National Review and former counsel to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

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Post of Washington, the *Times* in New York, the *Post-Dispatch* in St. Louis, etc. But we who believe in America as the last best hope of freedom must financially and otherwise continue to adopt the "tactic" of support, and circulation, of our conservative press and periodicals as faithfully as the Soviets and their friends support the *Worker*.

Baltimore, Md. J. NICHOLAS SHRIVER JR.

Hearst Verse

This little poem, originally written by William Randolph Hearst referring to FDR is, with a slight change, applicable to the present occupant of the White House:

Ode to JFK

The King is in the White House
Counting out the money.
The Queen is on the first page
Along with Sis and Sonny.
The Knave is in the Justice Office
Handing out the plums,
And the State until Election Day
Is feeding all the bums.
And the people! Oh, the people
Who suffer all these ills,
They have to pay the piper,
They have to foot the bills!

San Jose, Cal. DAVID LEBSCH

A Reply to the Archduke

In his letter [May 21] in answer to James Burnham, Otto von Habsburg adds misinformation on misinformation, which could lead one to believe that his source is the French Minister of Information himself. I would like to point out a few of the errors the Archduke makes in his letter:

1) The "administrative internment camps," as they were euphemistically termed by French officialdom, were encircled by barbed wire, sometimes in a triple row; rifle-bearing guards and police dogs patrolled by night and day; and strategic watchtowers and searchlights were a further hindrance to anyone who would have wanted to cut his stay short. Furthermore, the occupants had not been judged by any courts of law. They were there on the simple order of the Minister of the Interior. In other days, these orders were called *lettres de cachet*.

2) To say that all the camps have been closed is far-fetched. The camp at Thol, in southern France, was closed last year with a great fanfare of publicity . . . and then reopened very quietly. It had 250 unwilling

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"guests" at the end of last January.

3) The statement that there are no more than "a few hundred political prisoners" is manifestly absurd, although the admission that there are political prisoners at all is damaging in itself. By the latest count, there were some 11,000 persons judged or awaiting trial for politically motivated crimes.

4) We wish the Archduke were right in saying that the Communists have been ousted from all the sensitive posts in France. Unfortunately, it is not so. As recently as January 1962, French deputies informed me that there were Communists in the administration of the National Assembly, and the deputies knew perfectly well that their mail was being opened and read by them.

New York, N.Y. BENJAMIN PROTTER
Society for French-American Affairs

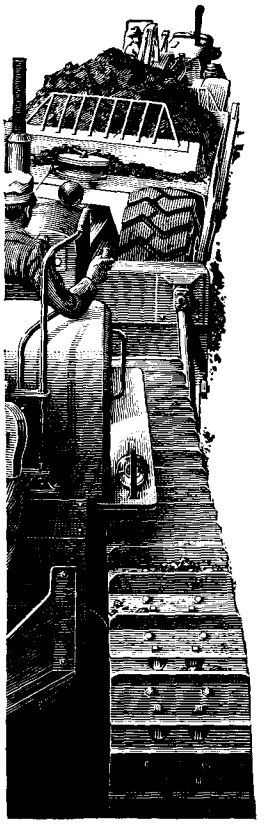
In Warren We Trust

Congratulations to Walter Berns for a well-reasoned discourse on the current state of church-school affairs April 23]. I feel, however, that he overstates his case when he refers to the "great public outcry" following the Regents' Prayer decision. There are a few of my acquaintances who will write a letter to their editor, congressman or the Supreme Court, but do they actually represent public opinion? If it weren't called to their attention, how many citizens would really notice the exclusion of prayers in public schools or miss "In God we trust" if it were suddenly removed from our coins?

Mr. Berns makes a good point in reminding the "anti-religious zealots" that the coin of toleration has two sides; but are these "zealots" wrong or contesting religious exercises in the public schools? If it is so important that our children start the day with a prayer or Bible reading, wouldn't such practices have greater meaning for them if they were conducted by their parents at the breakfast table? We cry about governmental encroachment on our rights yet beg the state to usurp this most personal of all our freedoms.

Ft. Wayne, Ind. RICHARD C. VER WIEBE

"School Prayers and 'Religious Warfare'" by Walter Berns was very interesting; however, his blandly accepting the Supreme Court's "incorporation of the First by the Fourteenth Amendment" appears to be out



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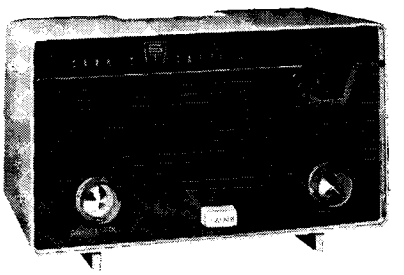

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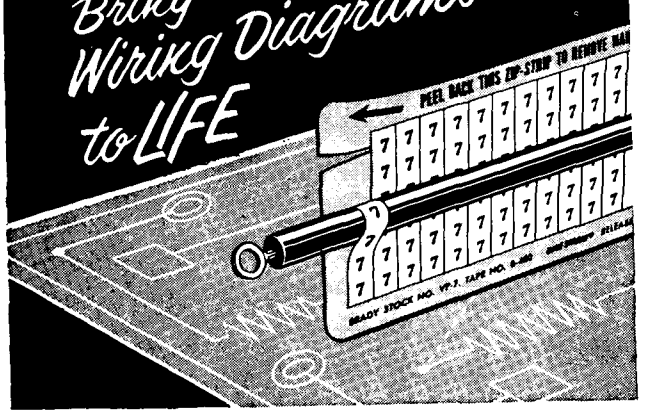

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of line. The mere fact that the Supreme Court has made such assertions from time to time does not make it historically or judicially correct. After all, the Supreme Court has reversed itself well over a hundred times on constitutional questions. The present majority on this question was the minority slightly more than ten years ago. One may have to bow to the edicts of the Supreme Court but that does not mean that one must agree that the Supreme Court is invariably correct. The Ten Commandments have been violated since they were given to Moses, but such continuous violations do not make the violations proper or repeal the Ten Commandments.

Odessa, Tex. BROOKS L. HARMAN

(Continued from p. 450)

tremendous grass-roots popularity pulling him steadily—perhaps prematurely—into the lead; Rockefeller fading into the arms of the former Mrs. Murphy (though he will probably still serve for many months as a sort of one-man Full Employment Act for indigent politicians); and Romney exposing just enough of his handsome gray head above the parapets to keep cautious Republican politicos from concluding that it's Goldwater in a walkover.

The real argument in the 1964 Republican convention, therefore, is likely to boil down to this: Granted Goldwater's ability to carry all or almost all of the South, is this huge asset offset by evidence that Romney can wrest from Kennedy a compensating number of northern states that Goldwater would probably lose? No doubt the obliging Dr. Gallup will report, in due course, that Romney is widely preferred over Goldwater by Republican voters in New York, Michigan and similar states, and perhaps (as in the case of Gallup's wildly exaggerated account of Rockefeller's Southern support last December) even further afield. But it will take a lot of talking to persuade the hard-headed GOP brass around the country that Romney can actually *win from President Kennedy* many states that Kennedy, in turn, would predictably take from Goldwater. The South, more clearly than ever, is the key—and the only key—to Republican victory in 1964; and that key is, and seems likely to remain, in the pocket of Barry Goldwater.

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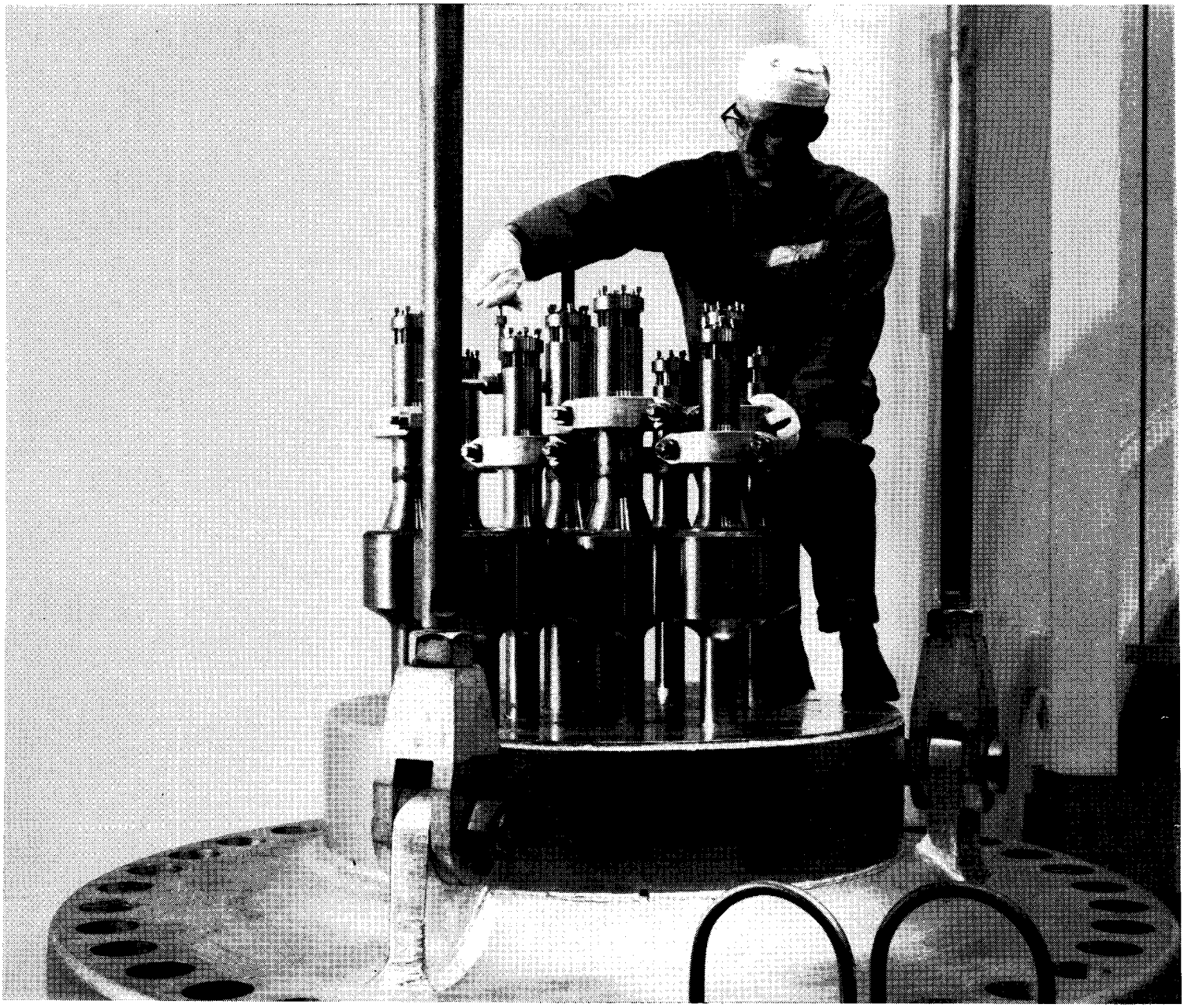

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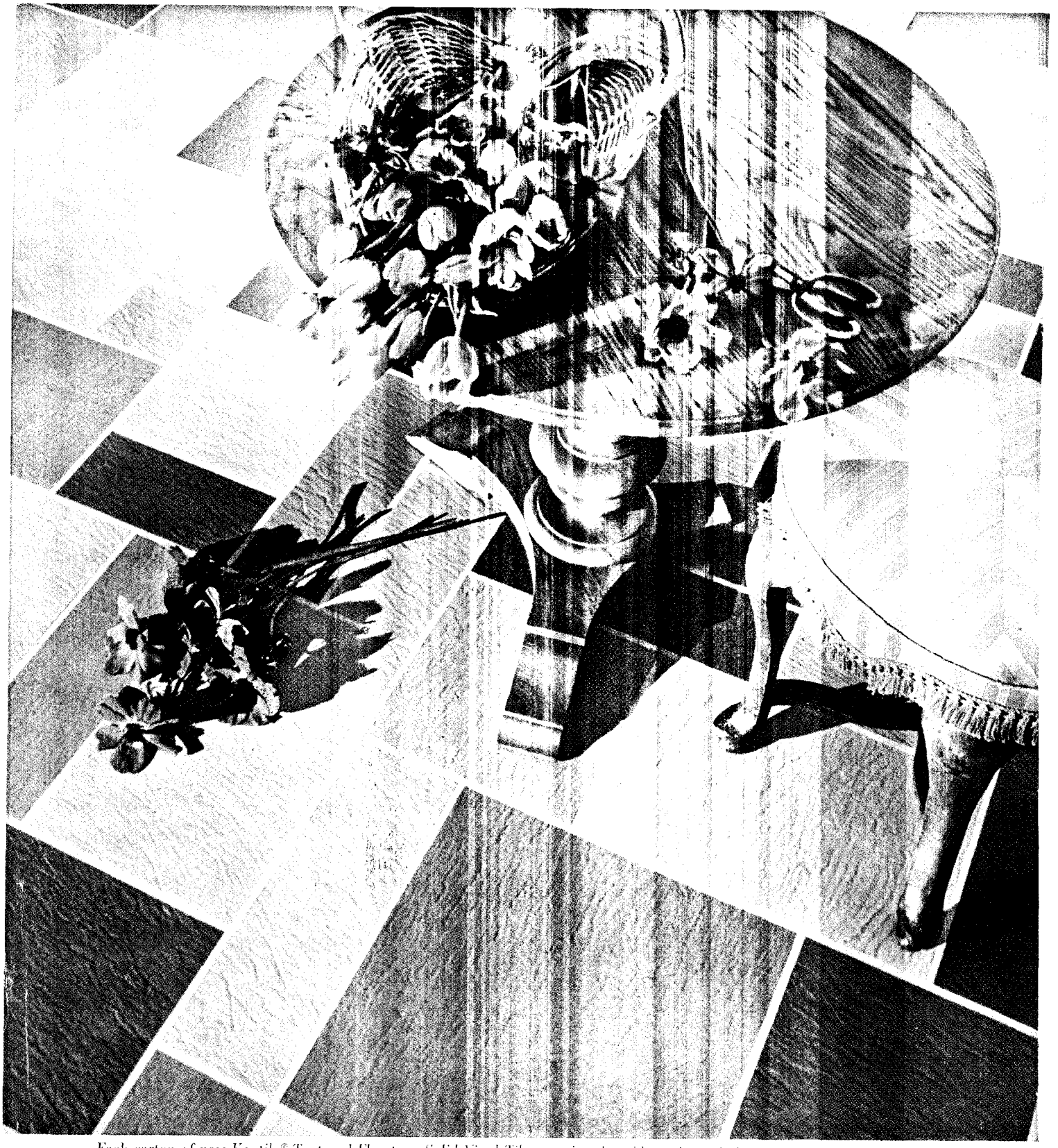

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